THE

WORKS

OF

SALLUST.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH

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CATILINE's

CONSPIRACY.

To his GRACE

EVELYN,

Duke of *KINGSTON.*

MY LORD,

AS I take the ſtory of Catiline to be full of inſtruction to all ſubjects, eſpecially to all great ſubjects, in a free ſtate, I freely inſcribe it to your grace. It is what I have long intended, what I think very pertinent, and what I therefore do with great chearfulneſs, as well for the honour accruing to myſelf, as for the pleaſure it muſt give to a mind like yours, not only free from all the guilt and perturbations rending the heart of that great parricide, but replete with all oppoſite impreſſions, good wiſhes for the public ſecurity and repoſe, and for whatever tends to procure them, the love of juſtice, truth and peace, with an antipathy to all violence and fraud; a character as amiable to

human ſociety, and pleaſing to him who has it, as the contrary character is odious to all men, and a curſe upon him to whom it belongs.

Bright talents, depraved by ambition, are more dangerous to the world than none: Such were Catiline's talents, ſtrong, but terrible, becauſe terribly perverted. He had great abilities, great accompliſhments, I think as great as any man, but wanted virtue: an admirable head was corrupted by a bad heart. Such is the difference between great ſenſe and good ſenſe, and conſequently between parts and wiſdom; which implies, not only parts, but the direction of good parts to good purpoſes. As able good men are the beſt men; a character too uncommon, even where it moſt abounds; able bad men are the worſt men; a character too common, even where it is moſt rare: a lively ſpirit, innocently employed, is an unblameable character: when it is benevolently employed, it is an amiable one. Men of parts, who will rather diſplay them miſchievouſly, than not diſplay them at all, only teach people to fear their parts, and to hate their perſons:

for, whatever diſguiſes they wear; however they may deceive for awhile; they will be diſcovered ſooner or latter, and then not only miſs their aim of public admiration and worſhip, but meet, what is oppoſite to both, infamy, and public indignation.

A man of parts, void of vanity, without knowing, or ſeeming to know, that he has them, cannot long conceal himſelf from men of diſcernment, though he may, for ſome time, from ſuch as have none. His modeſty, at worſt, can only hurt himſelf, by hiding or ſuſpending his character for a time, but can never create him enemies; and is, on the contrary, an amiable and ſure introduction to general affection and eſteem. The higheſt abilities, accompanied with oſtentation, are offenſive; at beſt, envied: but when ſuch as have them, will needs ſhine to the hurt of others, they will be abhorred by others; indeed, by all who are not like themſelves, frequently by ſuch as are. He who doth moſt good in the world, ought certainly to be moſt eſteemed in it: he who hurts the world moſt, ought to be moſt deteſted by it.

It is, or ought to be, the great purpoſe of hiſtory, to illuſtrate and recommend this leſſon; and thoſe hiſtorians who do it beſt, are the beſt hiſtorians and inſtructors. It it drawing the characters of men from their actions, and inſtructing the world by the good or evil fate of men, what the world is to expect from their following good or evil courſes. I think it is plain, upon the whole, that guilty actions have, firſt or laſt, an unhappy iſſue, ſometimes indeed to the guiltleſs, but generally to the guilty. How miſerable is the illuſtrious Lucius Sergius Catiline! What an unhappy wretch is the royal, the renowned Jugurtha! Both Jugurtha and Catiline the authors of their own miſery! It were to be wiſhed that they, and ſuch as they, could make none but themſelves miſerable.

If any examples, any inſtructions, were capable of mending the world, of prevailing with men to reſiſt their bad paſſions, and of convincing them, that all wicked purſuits, however pleaſing at firſt, threaten painful conſequences at laſt, and naturally tend to produce ſuch; no hiſtory is fraught with ſtronger or more inſtructive examples, than

thoſe of Catiline and Jugurtha; Catiline continually engaged in flagitious courſes, continually diſappointed, never mended, ſtill purſuing evil, ſtill rewarded with croſſes and rebukes; and, after a long ſeries of wickedneſs, diſtreſs, and danger, and general abhorrence, cut off as a public traitor; and his name, which he thought himſelf ſure of exalting with his fortune, become a name of infamy to all generations ſince and to come.

The fortune of Jugurtha was more varied; ſo was his character: A very great man, an able prince, a mighty hero, wonderfully qualified both for a warrior and a monarch; a good governor, kind to his ſubjects is general, and friendly to their liberties and fortunes; his name greatly celebrated in the world, his lot in it ſingular and fortunate, chiefly the effect of his high abilities and reputation; a king well eſtabliſhed, nothing threatening to hurt him, nothing able to diſturb him; ſuch was the awe of his name, ſuch the inferiority of the princes about him: The Romans, who alone could have troubled him, in friendſhip with him, and partial to him.

Such was the ſituation and glory of Jugurtha, ſuch his eaſe and ſecurity! Could guilt, the moſt flattering guilt, heighten his renown and good fortune? Could black perfidy, or unnatural barbarity, extend his fame? Yet, from a rage for ſanſied grandeur, he ſacrificed all his real greatneſs: from a paſſion for glory, he made himſelf deteſtable; and, to ſecure himſelf from all danger and attacks, expoſed himſelf to an inceſſant train of woes, with the conſtant peril of his diadem and life, and, in the end, with the utter loſs of both. One wicked ſtep required another, and that other required more: He murdered in order to uſurp: to maintain one uſurpation, he added another: and then, to make both ſafe, more murders muſt be committed, all naturally following the firſt and moſt ſhocking, thoſe of his neareſt relations, the ſons of his adopted father, left, by the dying king, to his fraternal protection, and that protection purchaſed by the gift and reward of a kingdom.

In deſtroying thoſe princes, his ambition, which inſpired him with cruelty, blinded him too from reflecting, that he was but

making a precedent, and giving encouragement to another uſurper to deſtroy himſelf, and even arming the hand, as well as hardening the heart, of that uſurper to ſtrike boldly; ſince that ſtroke, however cruel and unprovoked it might be, could hardly be ſo impious and aggravated as his own had been. There followed many ſubordinate murders and acts of treachery, with all the fearful calamities attending a war wantonly undertaken by him, cruelly felt by his people.

The conſequences to himſelf, after all his rapid ſucceſs, and in the deceitful ſmiles of fortune, for ſome time, were reſtleſs nights and days, plots againſt his life, endleſs fears and diſtruſts. This great conqueror and ſtateſman, this man of head and ſtratagem, was at laſt over-reached as well as vanquiſhed, ſurpriſed and ſeized by craft, like his own, carried to Rome in irons, there committed naked to a dungeon, where he is ſaid to have been periſhing many days, before he was releaſed by famine from the load of life and miſery. How ſecure, how happy, might he have lived, how quietly died,

and in what renown! No man had a clearer head, no man had ſtronger reaſon: but what a dwarf is reaſon in the hands of head-ſtrong paſſions!

The abilities of great wicked men are fatal to themſelves, as well as to the world. But what amends do their ſufferings make to the world, which ſuffers with them, and for them? The hero ſacrifices millions of lives, and has but one life to loſe. Sometimes millions periſh to humour a vain coward aping heroiſm: a tragical farce, which Europe ſaw, and rued for half a century.

Memorable too, and inſtructive, was the conduct of the Romans in that war. Every ſtep taken by the Roman leaders in it were, for a long time, not only ſcandalous to themſelves, and injurious to Rome, but ended naturally in their own diſgrace and ruin. They truſted to ſupport from the ſenate, where all the inſults, and glaring guilt, of Jugurtha were of no force againſt Jugurtha's money. The ſenate not only ſheltered and protected this ſon of blood, this public enemy, one of the moſt formidable that the commonwealth had ever encountered, but openly defended and ex-

tolled him: this they did ſo confidently, and ſo long, that they themſelves became as odious as the cauſe they eſpouſed; and thence raiſed a ſtorm that cruſhed them. They ſaw themſelves expoſed to the vengeance of the people, whom they have long treated with contempt, void of tenderneſs or mercy, and were treated by the people, in their turn, with as little. By a courſe of defiance and inſults upon the plebeians, they had provoked the plebeians to return oppreſſion with oppreſſion: Popular rage broke out the fiercer for having been long ſmothered, and now proceeded to very barbarous exceſſes.

Such is the wild ſpirit of party! The party which prevail, as if they could fix fate, and their own fortune, turn it into arrogance and riot; and, inſtead of conciliating their opponents by juſt and engaging uſage, oppreſs and exaſperate them; and conſequently invite a retribution of the ſame mercileſs treatment, whenever fortune changes. Bad example is generally more eagerly followed than good: When the change happens, the party which complained loudly and juſtly of oppreſſion, whilſt they were under it, exer-

ciſe it over their late oppreſſors, with the ſame aſperity and blindneſs, till they themſelves come to be again oppreſſed: They then feel, very ſenſibly, what they had unfeelingly earned, the like bitter uſage, and now utter the like bitter complaints.

Men rarely feel the hurt they do to others, but only what others do to them. Whoever uſes *us* ill, deſerves ill uſage from us, and ought not to complain; but *we* may complain of ill uſage, becauſe *we* never deſerve any.

Self-love will always reaſon ſelfiſhly, often ridiculouſly. Sound reaſon, and good temper, which is compriſed in it, will prove, in the end, to be always the trueſt ſelf-love, and lead men to their true intereſt, with moſt eaſe, and certainty, and fame. If we would avoid evil and injuſtice, we muſt not commit them; but rather bear ſome injury, than provoke more by returning it: If we ſet no ill example, our own cannot be alleged againſt us. This is reaſon, this is prudence and intereſt. But parties do not reaſon, but rage: They conſiſt of numbers in a paſſion with numbers, hating and ſtriving to

mortify each other: A ſad domeſtic war, at beſt, a ſad preſage of it! In it, if the enemy be but hurt, no matter how they are hurt.

As to the patricians, it is ſurpriſing how men of high quality, of great fortunes, and equal pride, ſhould act a part ſo ruinous to their own dignity, ſo deſtructive to the ſtate, and conſequently to themſelves, ſo glaringly repugnant to all the laws of juſtice and humanity, for a ſum, for any ſum of money, and be meanly bribed by a foreign enemy to eſpouſe his infamous cauſe againſt that of their country, and their own.

Such ſhocking venality could be no ſecret; ſince nothing but that could have procured him one voice in a Roman ſenate, nor indeed in the Roman ſtate. The reaſon of their partiality and injuſtice was as manifeſt as the guilt of Jugurtha, which was juſt as notorious as were the motives of their efforts to ſave him. What wonder that the popular leaders ſnatched the advantage! What wonder that the great men, who had ſo debaſed themſelves, were ſo vehemently decried, ſo ſucceſsfully attacked, ſo unmerci-

fully laſhed, by the popular orators, eſpecially in the celebrated harrangues of Memmius and Marius, and ſo expoſed to the hate and inſults of the populace!

The populace too, equally liable to be corrupted, ever to be eaſily and violently miſled, abuſed their victory over the patricians upon this occaſion, by a torrent of ſcandalous outrages. They gave themſelves up to precipitate acts of vengeance, and, in order to procure it, followed blindfold the guidance of thoſe who put them upon ſeeking it; followed their favourites and demagogues, more dangerous maſters than the grandees of the ſenate, becauſe implicitly truſted, and conſequently more powerful. Whoever propoſed to them what pleaſed them, however it hurt them, gained their confidence, which was always as unbounded as their hate and diſtruſt: So that they were over in more danger from their friends than their enemies, and generally more violent and headlong in miſtaken meaſures, than in ſuch as were juſt. They were juſtly provoked with moſt of the directors of the Jugurthine war, but extended their reſentment

indiſcriminately to all, to the brave and ſucceſsful Metellus, as well as to his venal and baffled predeceſſors. They were in wrath with the whole ſenate, becauſe many of the ſenators deſerved their wrath. They were of courſe the dupes and votaries of every incendiary, if he were but recommended by the only merit of inveighing loudly againſt the patricians. They encouraged every deſigning man to miſlead them, every hot orator to inflame them. Thus, in oppoſition to the grandees, they enabled the brutal Marius to hurt themſelves more, and to bring more diſorder and deſolation upon the ſtate, than all the grandees, the worſt and moſt criminal grandees, had done before him.

The people were apt to think men better or worſe than they really were: Their affection, as well as their averſion, was without meaſure: both their averſion and affection were often ill-founded and miſplaced. They ſometimes hated, where they ought to have loved; and loved where they ought to have hated. They rage againſt Metellus, though he had done all that a brave general, all that an able magiſtrate, could do: They applaud

and exalt Marius, merely becauſe he promiſed to do better; and they believed him upon his bare word. They take all his rough railings, all his ſcurrilities, as marks of zeal for public juſtice, and public liberty; and his plebeian extraction and manners paſs with them for proofs of his attachment to the plebeians. They think that Metellus cannot be a man of honour, becauſe he is a man of quality; nor Marius a knave, becauſe he is a ruſtic. They ſwallowed things and characters by the lump: They did not conſider, that, in general, little more can be expected from men, than that men ſo far ſeek the public good, as in it they find their own; that if men judged truly of their own happineſs, even this ſpirit, however ſelfiſh, would be public ſpirit; ſince every man will, firſt or laſt, find the intereſt of the public to be his own intereſt, find his own glory inſeparable from the glory of his country.

I thought that ſuch reflections as theſe, which occur naturally from Salluſt, would ſtand naturally before his works, in an addreſs to your grace. No man can have ſtronger motives to love his country, and

to ſtudy its peace and ſecurity, its equal laws, its free conſtitution; for the liberty, eaſe, and ſecurity of the ſubject, not to be matched by any conſtitution, in any country, antient or modern. No ſubject can have a juſter call to prevent all dangerous, or to promote all juſt meaſures; to oppoſe all violence from men in power, as well as all violence againſt them; to weigh reaſons of ambition againſt reaſons of ſtate; to compare popular grievances with popular diſaffection, patriotiſm with party, and private heat with public zeal. No man was ever leſs formed for party, no man more unqualified, both from temper and intereſt, to engage in narrow, hot, and dangerous purſuits, ſuch as party blindly delights in.

Your grace cannot but, upon all accounts, love your country, particularly upon your own, as you have ſo great a ſtake in it: Your dignity cannot be higher for a ſubject; Few ſubjects of equal dignity have equal fortune to ſupport it: Fewer perhaps have a temper ſo even and happy, with ſuch a manly contempt of all pride and falſe ſtate; none a more juſt and ready underſtanding, or a heart

better diſpoſed; the higheſt endowment of all! In a word, your grace has many qualifications to make you many friends; and whoever are worthy to be your friends, will never be your enemies.

I therefore own to the world, that I eſteem you very highly, and if you will pardon a familiar, but honeſt, expreſſion, very affectionately; that I take a zealous part in whatever concerns you; that I conſider you as a great ornament to your rank and country, uncommonly intereſted in its welfare, well diſpoſed to ſerve it, and furniſhed with firmneſs and ſpirit to ſupport it.

I am, therefore, with the higheſt regard, and the warmeſt wiſhes,

My Lord,

Your moſt obedient, and

Moſt Humble Servant,

SEPTEMBER 9. 1743.

T. GORDON.

CATILINE's

CONSPIRACY.

IT is incumbent upon all men, who aim at ſurpaſſing the brute creation, ſo to exert their ſpirit, as not to paſs their life without notice or name, like the herd in the fields, by nature framed with bodies prone to the earth, and under blind ſubjection to their appetites.

The faculties of man are indeed twofold; thoſe of the mind and thoſe of the body: The prerogative of the ſoul is, to command, the duty of the body, to obey: The former we ſhare with the gods; we poſſeſs the latter in common with the beaſts. Hence, in the purſuit of glory, I prefer the abilities of the mind to thoſe of the body; and ſince the term of our life is but ſhort, it ought to be our ſtudy to perpetuate our memory. For the ſplendor of beauty, and of wealth, is tranſient and frail; virtue alone is intitled to eternity and renown.

It hath, however, been a great and long debate amongſt men, whether vigour of body, or the talents of the mind, contribute moſt to ſucceſs in

war; for, as counſel muſt precede and direct execution, prompt execution muſt follow counſel: whence it comes, that, neither of theſe ſufficing alone, each prevails by the aid of the other. Thus it was, that, of old, kings (for this was the title of government firſt known in the world) purſued different improvements; ſome thoſe of the mind, others thoſe of the body. Nor as yet was the conduct of men influenced by ambition; but all remained abundantly ſatisfied with their own lot and poſſeſſions.

Afterwards, indeed, when Cyrus began in Aſia, the Lacedaemonians and Athenians in Greece, to ſeize cities, and ſubdue nations; when the luſt of unbounded ſway became the cauſe of war; when the higheſt glory was thought to ariſe from the largeſt dominions; it was then at laſt diſcovered, by a courſe of experience, that it is genius which chiefly ſupports war. Indeed, would princes and leaders but exerciſe the ſame capacity and addreſs in peace, as they do in war, the condition of human affairs would be found more reaſonable and juſt, as well as more ſteady; nor ſhould we ſee property and power toſſed hither and thither, nor ſuch violent reverſes of ſtates, and univerſal combuſtion. For government is eaſily preſerved by the ſame meaſures upon which it was founded: But when, in place of induſtry and vigilance, of juſtice and moderation, inſolence, and ſloth, and licentiouſneſs prevail, the fortune of the ſtate changes with the manners of the ſtate. So that in all revolutions, power paſſes from him who hath leaſt abilities, to him who has moſt.

The productions of men, whatever they be, in agriculture, in navigation, in building, indeed in all things, are owing to the manly efforts of the ſoul. Yet many of the human ſpecies there are ſo abandoned to gluttony, to ſleep and ſloth, ſo void of all improvement and politeneſs, as to paſs their lives like men on a journey; and, contrary to the purpoſe of nature, knowing no delights but ſuch as ariſe from the body, find their minds only an incumberance. Now I hold the life and the death of ſuch individuals to be of equal moment, ſince they live and die in equal ſilence and obſcurity.

The man, therefore, who ſeems to me truly to live, and to enjoy his rational faculties, is he, who, by exerting himſelf in certain purſuits, ſeeks the glory ariſing from ſome illuſtrious adventure, or ſome honourable function. Now in a vaſt variety of occupations, the different nature of men preſents them with different purſuits.

It is laudable to act worthily for the commonwealth; and to write well for it, hath its meaſure of merit. There is room to gain renown in peace as well as in war: Many have acquired applauſe by performing great actions; many by deſcribing them. And though I perceive, that ſo large a portion of glory attends not him who deſcribes exploits, as him who atchieves them; yet, ſtill, to me, it appears a taſk of the firſt magnitude, to diſcharge the duty of an hiſtorian; eſpecially ſince dignity of deeds muſt be equalled by the dignity of ſtyle. Moreover, whenever you reprove faults, many will conclude you animated by malice and

envy. When you recount deeds of magnanimity and renown, exhibited by the worthy and the brave; if they be ſuch as every reader thinks himſelf capable of producing, he will be complaiſant enough to believe them; but hold them for fables framed by yourſelf, where they ſurpaſs that meaſure.

For myſelf; I, like many others, was carried away, in my early youth, by a paſſion for a part in the adminiſtration; but found many things to croſs my purſuit: For, in the place of modeſty, of reſtraint, and of works of merit, all licence flouriſhed, with all the efforts of corruption and rapaciouſneſs; vices which my ſoul, not yet enured to evil habits, did indeed utterly diſreliſh: Yet, during ſuch prevailing depravations, my tender years were intangled by ambition; and although I avoided, in general, the corrupt morals of my contemporaries, I was ſtill inſtigated, like others, with the ſame ardour for public preferment; and thence expoſed to popular rancour and reproach.

As ſoon, therefore, as my ſoul became diſengaged from the many vexations and perils attending this purſuit, and I had determined to retreat, during life, from the adminiſtration, I conceived a deſign, not to waſte ſuch valuable leiſure in inattention and indolence, nor to apply my thoughts and care to agriculture or the chace, and thus paſs my days in laborious occupations, which exceed not the ability of ſlaves; but, reſuming my former aim and undertaking, from whence the depraved ſpirit of ambition had diverted me, I reſolved to compoſe a hiſtory of the Roman people, by

collecting the principal events, ſuch as appeared to deſerve the attention of poſterity: a taſk which I rather choſe, for that my ſoul was unbyaſſed by any hope or fear, and attached to no faction in the ſtate.

I ſhall here therefore recount the conſpiracy of Catiline, with all poſſible veracity, as it was an attempt, which, for the wonderful ſingularity of the treaſon, and for the danger that it threatened, appears to me extremely memorable. Of this man's character it is proper to open ſome parts, before I enter upon the ſtory.

Lucius Catiline ſprang from an illuſtrious race: he was a man of great vigour both of body and mind; but of a ſpirit altogether vicious and depraved. From his youth he delighted in inteſtine wars, in ſlaughter and depredation, in civil diſcord and tumults: theſe were indeed the great occupations of his younger years. He was capable of enduring hunger and cold, and want of repoſe, beyond what is conceivable: his ſpirit was daring, inſidious, and ſhifting; expert in feigning what he meant not, and in diſſembling what he meant; rapacious of what belonged to others, profuſe of his own: violent and flaming in all his paſſions: he had a ſufficient ſhare of eloquence; of wiſdom a ſmall ſhare. A ſpirit ſo boundleſs was ever purſuing extravagant views, too romantic to be feaſible, too high to be attempted.

This was the character of Catiline; who, having obſerved the ſucceſsful uſurpation of Sylla, became tranſported with a paſſion to ſeize the commonwealth; nor, in his purſuit of tyranny, was

he at all concerned by what methods he carried it. His ſpirit, naturally impetuous, was ſtill more and more inflamed by domeſtic wants, and by the horror of his manifold guilt; misfortunes which he had greatly heightened by the courſes that I have mentioned. He was alſo encouraged by the corrupt character of the Romans, now quite debauched by two vices, oppoſite in their natures, but equally pernicious; luxury and avarice.

Since I had here occaſion to mention the manners of the Romans, the ſubject ſeems to invite me to trace the ages paſt; and briefly to review the inſtitutions of our anceſtors, both in peace and in war; how they conducted the ſtate; in what grandeur they left it to their deſcendents; and how, by a gradual degeneracy, from the moſt glorious and moſt virtuous, it is become the moſt vicious and moſt depraved.

By what I have learned, the fugitive Trojans, who, following Æneas, wanderedab out in Italy, without any conſtant ſettlement, were the founders of Rome, in conjunction with the natives; a ſavage race of men, ſubject to no laws, owning no authority, but abſolutely free and unaccountable. It is incredible to recount how eaſily theſe two nations, different in their original, in their language and manners, blended together into one people, as ſoon as they came to inhabit one city. Afterwards, when, by the augmentation of citizens and territory, and by domeſtic improvements, their ſtate increaſed, and appeared ſufficiently flouriſhing and powerful, they experienced the hard condition, annexed to almoſt all human

things, that their particular opulence begat general envy: inſomuch that the neighbouring princes and nations took arms againſt them; whilſt but very few of their friends afforded them ſuccour: for all the reſt were ſtruck with terror, and kept far from the danger.

Nevertheleſs, the undaunted Romans, alike vigilant in the city and the field, acted with vigour, concerted all meaſures, animated one another, advanced againſt the enemy, and thus protected their liberty, their country, and their families, by their bravery and arms. Then, when by it they had repelled their own danger, they carried aid to their friends and confederates: and it was more by conferring benefits, than by receiving them, that they procured alliances.

Their government had the name of a monarchy; but monarchy limited by laws: a ſelect number of antient men, who, however weakened by years, were vigorous in ſpirit and prudence, forming a council, directed the adminiſtration; and either from their age, or a ſimilitude of tenderneſs and care, were called Fathers. Afterwards, when the monarchy, eſtabliſhed at firſt for ſecuring public liberty, and for aggrandizing the ſtate, lapſed into inſolence and tyranny, they changed the form of their government, and created two rulers with authority only annual. By this expedient they concluded, that they had beſt reſtrained the ſpirit of men from being tempted, by long power, into acts of violence.

Upon this revolution, all men began with greater zeal to exert themſelves in their ſtations;

all men more readily to diſplay their ſeveral abilities. For, to the jealouſy of lawleſs kings, the virtuous are much more obnoxious, than the vicious; and in their eyes virtuous merit appears always dreadful. But how much the city, now ſhe had acquired liberty, increaſed in a ſmall time, is incredible to be told; ſo powerfully had a paſſion for glory poſſeſſed the hearts of her citizens!

The Roman youth, the moment they could bear arms, repaired to the camp, where, under hard fatigues, they acquired by practice the art of war: and greater was their delight in their military dreſs and war-horſes, than in lewd women and banquetting. To ſuch men therefore no fatigues were ſtrange, no ſituation grievous, no armed hoſt formidable; for their magnanimity overcame all things: but their higheſt conteſt for glory was amongſt themſelves; whilſt every particular ſtrove to be firſt in wounding the foe, in ſcaling the rampart, and ſignalizing himſelf to all in performing theſe exploits. This they accounted to be riches; this to be reputation and high rank. They were covetous of applauſe, but liberal of money. They ſought only a moderate degree of wealth; but glory without bounds.

I could here recount upon what occaſions the Roman people have routed mighty armies with a handful of men; as alſo what cities, ſtrongly fortified even by nature, they have taken by aſſault; but that the detail would lead me too far from my undertaking

Yet ſurely it is fortune that bears ſupreme ſway in all things: it is ſhe that, following caprice rather than juſtice, brightens or darkens all the affairs and actions of men. The atchievements of the Athenians, I allow, were abundantly grand and noble; yet ſtill inferior to the repreſentations of fame: but as they were furniſhed with writers of fine genius, the exploits of the Athenians are thence renowned throughout the world, as the moſt noble and exemplary; and the bravery of ſuch as performed them, is accounted juſt as high as the addreſs of theſe illuſtrious wits in deſcribing and extolling them.

But the Roman people were never thus ſupplied; ſince all their ableſt men were likewiſe the moſt active, and therefore moſt employed. None applied their talents but jointly with bodily application. Every man excelling in worth, preferred doing to ſaying; and choſe rather, that others ſhould applaud his deſerving actions, than he recount thoſe of others.

Sound manners, therefore, were promoted both in the city, and the camp. The moſt cordial union every-where prevailed, and not ſelfiſh purſuits. They were determined to equity and right, not more by the force of laws, than by a natural propenſity. The only ſtrife, the only diſſentions and diſputes which they exerciſed, they exerciſed againſt the public enemy. All the conteſt between citizen and citizen were deeds of bravery. They were magnificent in their oblations to the deities; in their families very frugal; in their friendſhips very faithful. By two principal means, valour in

war, and righteous conduct during peace, they ſupported their own reputation, and that of the common weal: and, as the fulleſt proofs of theſe virtues, I find that, during war, more frequent were the puniſhments of ſuch as attacked the enemy contrary to orders, or continued in battle after the ſignal for a retreat, than of thoſe who dared to abandon their ſtandards, or to relinquiſh their poſt; whilſt, in time of peace, they ſuſtained their power more by the influence of favours than of fear: and, when they were injured, they choſe rather to forgive, than to ſeek revenge.

But when, by a courſe of induſtry and juſtice, the commonwealth was grown powerful; when mighty kings were vanquiſhed in war; when ſeveral nations, very fierce and wild, were tamed, and many potent people had yielded to her ſuperior might; when Carthage, that rival to the empire of Rome, was utterly demoliſhed, and now ſea and land lay every-where open to her ſway; then began fortune to exerciſe her tyranny, and to introduce univerſal confuſion. The ſame people who had, without regret, undergone fatigues and dangers, diſtreſſes and hardſhips, were baned by a life of eaſe: the Romans became depreſſed by riches, which are the great idol and purſuit of other nations.

Thus the luſt of money firſt prevailed; next a paſſion for place and ſway. Theſe were the ſources of all the evils which followed. For, avarice aboliſhed all good faith, and all probity, with every other worthy principle. Inſtead of theſe, it inſpired pride and inhumanity, contempt of the

gods, and a ſpirit of unbounded venality. Reigning ambition generally forced men to be deceitful, to conceal their real meaning; to profeſs, what they meant not; to eſtimate friendſhip and enmity, not according to their own weight, but by that of lucre, and rather to bear a fair countenance than an upright heart.

Theſe depravations at firſt gained ground by degrees, and were ſometimes damped by correction. At laſt corruption ſpreading like a peſtilence, the city became utterly changed, and the adminiſtration, from the moſt righteous and fatherly, grew violent and inſupportable.

I own, that at firſt ambition had a greater ſhare than avarice in influencing the minds of men, and is indeed a vice which bears ſome reſemblance of virtue; ſince all men alike, the worthy as well as the worthleſs, covet glory, preferments and power. The difference is, that the former employ direct means; the others, wanting juſt abilities, betake themſelves to craft and frauds. The object of avarice is money; for which no wiſe man ever entertained a paſſion. This vice, as if impregnated with every deadly poiſon, unmans body and ſoul: it is ever boundleſs, ever inſatiable; nor is its rage more abated by affluence than by want.

But when Sylla had by ſtrength of arms recovered the adminiſtration from the Plebeians, and his fair beginnings had produced ſuch guilty events, all his followers grew eager for ſpoil and rapine: one coveted a houſe, another was greedy of land: each ſeized what he liked: the conquering ſoldiery obſerved neither moderation nor meaſure, and

treated the citizens with brutal abuſe and barbarity. What heightened theſe evils, Sylla, to engage the affections of his army, which he had commanded in Aſia, had, againſt all the rules of our anceſtors, indulged them in great delicacy, and exceſſive latitude: the warlike tempers of ſoldiers, now unemployed, became eaſily ſoftened, by their delicious quarters, by pleaſure and luxury. There the Roman ſoldiery became firſt habituated to drunkenneſs and amours; to admire ſtatues, pictures, and ſculpture; to make ſpoil of all things, as well by open violence as by ſtealth; to ravage the ſhrines and ſanctuaries of the deities; and, without diſtinction, to devour and contaminate all things ſacred and profane. A ſoldiery therefore thus diſpoſed, and withal conquerors, were ſure to leave nothing to the vanquiſhed. Even the hearts of wiſe men are unmanned by ſucceſs: how ſhould forces ſo debauched temper victory with moderation?

When riches began to paſs for worth and honour; when glory, command, and great ſway waited upon riches; then virtue began to languiſh; poverty to be held contumelious; innocence of life to paſs for ill-nature. Thus luxury, voraciouſneſs, and pride, all ariſing from the common root of riches, captivated the minds of the Roman youth: they rioted in rapine and prodigality; deſpiſed what was their own, coveted what belonged to others; baniſhed ſhame, friendſhip, and continence; confounded things divine and human, and were regardleſs of all circumſpection and reſtraint.

As a mark of primitive parſimony, and of ſucceeding prodigality, we need only ſurvey the houſes of particular citizens in Rome, and in the country; all appearing, in dimenſions and grandeur, like ſo many cities; and then behold the moderate ſtructures erected even to the gods by our anceſtors, the devouteſt of all men! Yet they thought of no ornament but piety, for the manſions of the gods; nor for their own houſes, but that of glorious deeds: neither did they ever deprive ſuch as they conquered of any thing, except the power of doing hurt. Contrary is the preſent conduct! Whatever our forefathers, the braveſt of all men, left to their vanquiſhed enemies, theſe, who are the moſt effeminate, plunder from their confederates, by the moſt crying violence; as if they believed the practice of oppreſſion to be the only uſe of power.

I paſs over, as needleſs to be recounted, other things too incredible to be believed, except by thoſe who ſaw them. Mountains frequently levelled by the power of private citizens; and even the raging ſea covered with mighty edifices. Theſe men ſeem indeed to me to have turned their riches into ſport and frolic; ſince, inſtead of enjoying them with honour, they laviſhed them upon monuments of ſhame.

Nor leſs prevalent was the purſuit of impure pleaſures, voluptuous feaſting, and other extravagant gratifications: men proſtituted themſelves like women: women ſuffered proſtitution without fear or reſtraint. To gratify gluttony, ſea and land were ranſacked for rarities. Sleep was

indulged ere nature craved repoſe: luxury anticipated the returns of hunger and thirſt: cold and fatigue were ſo carefully prevented, as never to be felt.

By ſuch depravations, the Roman youth, when they had exhauſted their fortunes, were inſtigated to all enormities. For, their minds, poiſoned with evil habits, wanted force to reſiſt their appetites; and were therefore the more furiouſly abandoned to all extravagances, and to all the means of ſupplying them.

In a city ſo immenſe and debauched, Catiline kept about him, what Rome plentifully furniſhed, bands of profligates, and ſons of violence, like guards of his perſon. Since whoever were ſlaves to voluptuouſneſs, gluttony, and lewdneſs, and had diſſipated their paternal fortune, by a courſe of gaming, feaſting, and lubricity; whoever were preſſed by debts, contracted to purchaſe impunity for their miſdeeds and enormities; whoever were charged with the crimes of parricide and ſacrilege, and convicted for them, or feared conviction; add, ſuch as had ſold themſelves to perjury, and to ſhed the blood of citizens, and lived by it; laſtly, all who were worried by their own guilty minds, or by their indigence and crimes; became jointly linked to Catiline, and his cloſeſt intimates. Or, if any one, as yet free from blame, grew familiar with him, he too, from daily commerce, and by ſnares laid to debauch him, was brought to reſemble, and even to equal, the reſt.

For he eſpecially ſought the intimacy of young men; for their minds, then pliant and tender,

were, with leſs difficulty, moulded and engaged. So that for ſome of theſe he provided harlots; for others, he procured dogs and horſes, according to the rage and bent of their ſeveral pleaſures, at that time of life. Nor indeed did he ſpare any expence, nor even his own honour, ſo he could but make them entirely truſty, and attached to himſelf. Some, I know, there are, who thought, that all the youth, who haunted the houſe of Catiline, debaſed themſelves unnaturally: but this rumour aroſe more from other cauſes, than that any ſuch fact was ever proved.

For Catiline himſelf: he had, whilſt yet very young, committed many acts of lewdneſs; deflowered a virgin of noble rank; debauched a conſecrated Veſtal; with other crimes equally black, in defiance of all law, and the moſt awful reſtraints. Then, as he was ſmitten with a paſſion for Aurelia Oreſtilla, (one in whom no virtuous man ever found aught to admire, but her beauty) and as ſhe ſcrupled to marry him, becauſe he had a ſon already grown to maturity; it is undoubtedly believed, that he butchered his own child; and made his houſe deſolate, to facilitate the unhallowed nuptials. And this very thing, in my opinion, proved the principal cauſe of hurrying him on to the execution of the conſpiracy. For, his guilty ſoul, exaſperated againſt gods and men, was equally incapable of repoſe from reſt and ſleep, as from watching and motion; ſo ſtrongly did the guilt of his conſcience tear and affright his ſpirit! Hence his face was pale, his eyes baleful, his pace unequal, now ſlow, then quick: indeed in his

whole viſage, and in all his looks, there appeared diſtraction and wildneſs.

Now having ſeduced over to his intereſt theſe young men, as above I have related, he diſciplined them, by various methods, in all the arts of wickedneſs; prompted them to forgeries, to bear falſe witneſs, to falſify their faith, to laviſh their fortunes, and to deſpiſe all dangers and reſtraints. When he had thus diveſted them of all reputation, and of all ſhame, he incited them to crimes ſtill higher; and, even where no provocation was given, it was their practice to inſnare, and to aſſaſſinate, with equal wantonneſs, ſuch who had never offended him, and ſuch who had. For, rather than the hands and ſpirit of his accomplices ſhould loſe vigour through inaction, he was cauſleſly miſchievous, and inhuman unprovoked.

Catiline, in confidence of ſupport from this his band of aſſociates and followers, formed a deſign to ſeize the commonwealth: he was further encouraged, by the grievous debts which preſſed all men throughout the ſtate; together with the temper of Sylla's ſoldiers; who, having waſted in riot their late acquiſitions, and looking back wiſhfully upon their former conqueſts and depredations, longed earneſtly for a civil war. He obſerved Italy deſtitute of an army; Pompey engaged in war in the remote parts of the earth; and had himſelf high hopes of obtaining the conſulſhip. The ſenate, apprehending no public danger, was void of all public care; and all things ſeemed ſecure, becauſe all things were calm: a conjuncture of

circumſtances highly ſeaſonable to the views of Catiline.

Hence, about the beginning of June, during the conſulſhip of Lucius Caeſar and Caius Figulus, he began to apply to his followers, at firſt one by one: Some he perſuaded, others he ſounded. He explained to them, how powerfully he was ſupported, how deſtitute the ſtate was of forces, and what mighty recompences would attend the conſpiracy. When he had ſufficiently ſifted their ſeveral tempers, he called together all of them who were moſt pinched by their neceſſities, or known to be moſt deſperately bold.

In this aſſembly were found Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Caſſius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius Sylla, and Servius Sylla, (ſons of Servius Sylla) Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Loecca, Lucius Beſtia, and Quintus Curius; all of the illuſtrious rank of ſenators; beſides thoſe of the equeſtrian order, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, and Caius Cornelius. To theſe were joined many from the colonies, and great free cities, all of principal rank in their ſeveral communities.

There were moreover patricians of the higheſt name and figure engaged in the combination, but with greater caution and diſguiſe; men inſtigated rather by hopes of lawleſs ſway, than by indigence, or any other urgent motive. Finally, moſt of the youth, above all, the youth of quality, favoured the deſigns of Catiline: even they, who were

furniſhed with ample means of living in repoſe, and even with magnificence, nay, in extreme luxury, preferred future contingencies to certain enjoyments, and war to peace.

There were alſo then ſome, who believed Marcus Licinius Craſſus, to have been not clear of the conſpiracy; ſince, in hatred to Pompey, whom he ſaw with regret at the head of a mighty army, he would gladly have promoted any intereſt whatſoever, in oppoſition to the authority of that general; from a confidence too, that if the conſpiracy prevailed, he ſhould find it eaſy to make himſelf head of the conſpiracy.

A while before, ſome few had, in conjunction with Catiline, formed the like terrible conſpiracy; of which I ſhall deduce the detail with all poſſible veracity.

In the conſulſhip of Lucius Tullus and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sylla (choſen to ſucceed them) were ſet aſide, nay arraigned and puniſhed, for violating, by corrupt arts, the freedom of elections. Soon after, Catiline was likewiſe convicted of bribery, and diſqualified from ſuing for the conſulſhip, as the time for declaring himſelf was elapſed before his trial was ended. Another public incendiary at this time, was Cneius Piſo, a young man, nobly born, extremely bold, neceſſitous, turbulent, and urged both by his great wants, and his licentious morals, to embroil the ſtate. He, Catiline, and Autronius, in purſuance of a deſign formed amongſt them about the fifth of December, determined to fall upon the then conſuls, Lucius Cotta, and Lucius

Torquatus, and to murder them in the capitol, on the firſt of January: then Catiline and Autronius were to ſeize to themſelves the conſular enſigns and authority, and to ſend away Piſo with an army to ſecure the poſſeſſions of both the Spains.

This their deſign coming to be known, they ſhifted the intended ſlaughter to the fifth of February. Then they formed a ſcheme, beſides the blood of the conſuls, to ſhed that of a great part of the ſenate: ſo that, had not Catiline been too precipitate in giving the ſignal to his accomplices, at the aſſembling of the ſenate, there had that day been ſeen the moſt direful tragedy ſince the foundation of Rome. But as any conſiderable number of them had not yet come together armed, the attempt was fruſtrated.

Yet Piſo, though inveſted only with the office of quaeſtor, was afterwards ſent propraetor into the Nether-Spain, a command procured for him by the weight and influence of Craſſus; for Craſſus knew him to be an implacable enemy to Pompey.

Nor, in truth, was the ſenate averſe to give him the province; ſince they liked to have ſo peſtilent a citizen far removed from Rome. Add, that very many Romans, well affected to the commonwealth, conſidered him as a reſource and defence to the ſtate, at a time when the great power of Pompey was become very terrible.

But Piſo was ſlain, upon his march to his province, by the Spaniſh cavalry in his army. His death is by ſome aſcribed to the ſeverity of his go-

vernment; as if it were accompanied with ſuch haughtineſs, ſuch injuſtice, and ſuch cruelty, as the barbarians could not bear. Others allege, theſe Spaniſh horſe, old followers of Pompey, and entirely attached to his intereſt, to have, by orders from him, fallen upon Piſo. For the Spaniards had never, upon any occaſion, made ſuch an attempt upon the perſons of their commanders and governors, but had long and patiently endured numberleſs exceſſes of power without mercy. For myſelf, I ſhall leave this diſputed account undecided. I have now abundantly opened the preceding conſpiracy.

Catiline, when he ſaw thoſe, whoſe names I have above recounted, aſſembled together, though he had often treated largely with them one by one; yet, believing it conducible to his purpoſe, to addreſs and exhort them in a body, withdrew with them into the moſt retired part of the houſe; and there, far from the hearing of any but the conſpirators, ſpoke to them in the following ſtrain.

'Had I not already well proved your faith and 'bravery, the preſent opportunity would have of-'fered to no purpoſe; vain would have been all 'our mighty hopes; in vain would the power of 'ſeizing the commonwealth dropped into our 'hands: neither ſhould I, truſting to impotent 'aſſiſtants, or to men unworthy of truſt, have 'riſqued certainties for uncertainties. But ſince, 'upon very many, and very extraordinary emer-'gencies, I have known you undaunted in your 'perſons, and inſeparably attached to mine, my

'ſoul is daring enough to engage in an adven-
'ture, at once of the higheſt conſequence, and of
'the higheſt glory.

'I have a further incitement, when I conſider,
'that the ſame lot which attends me, good or bad,
'attends you: and, to have the ſame wiſhes, and
'the ſame diſlikes, is the ſolid band of amity.

'What a ſcheme I have projected, you have
'already been all, ſeverally, informed. I now
'add, that my ardour to purſue it increaſes daily,
'whilſt I recollect what a ſad lot of life abides us,
'if we do not rouſe, and redeem our common li-
'berty. For, ever ſince the commonwealth has
'fallen under the rule and controul of a few
'grandees, to theſe few are kings and princes ſub-
'ject and tributary; to theſe few do nations and
'people pay taxes: whilſt all the reſt of us Ro-
'mans, however brave, however deſerving, noble,
'or plebeian, have remained a forlorn croud, de-
'ſtitute of credit, ſecluded from employments,
'and ſlaves to theſe men; men, who, would the
'commonwealth reſume her own fame and vi-
'gour, would find us a terror to them!

'So that all credit, all ſway, all preferments
'and riches are confined to them, or to thoſe
'whom they favour. To us, for our portion,
'they have left perils and fears, the infamy
'of repulſes from public dignities, the rigorous
'judgments of the tribunals, and the pangs of in-
'digence.

'Such are our grievances! How long will you
'bear them? You, who are valiant men, extreme-

'ly valiant? Is it not more eligible, to meet death 'in a brave attempt, than, holding our life in 'wretchedneſs and diſhonour, to bear the ſcorn 'of inſulting men, and, even then to loſe it ig-'nominiouſly?

'Beſides all this, I appeal to gods and to men, 'that ſucceſs and victory are in our own hands: 'we are in the vigour of life, and ſuitably brave. 'It is not ſo on the other ſide: they are oppreſſ-'ed with years and opulence, and every way be-'reft of force. Nothing further is wanting, than 'to make the attempt. The reſt, the natural 'courſe of proceeding will execute.

'In truth, what mortal, who has the ſpirit 'of a man, can bear the unequal lot, that, whilſt 'they have riches in exceſs, even to laviſh upon 'ſtructures in the deep, nay, in levelling moun-'tains, our domeſtic means are too narrow to 'procure us the neceſſities of life? that, when 'they are adding ſeat to ſeat, and multiplying 'their manſions, to us their remains not any cer-'tain abode? though they are purchaſing pic-'tures, ſtatues, and curious works of ſculpture; 'though they go on in building, then again pull 'down, and then rebuild; in ſhort, though in 'every waſteful way they diſſipate, and reſtleſly 'confound their treaſure; yet, with all their 'wild profuſion, they are unable to maſter and 'exhauſt their wealth.

'For us, we have pinching poverty at home; 'abroad, debts, and the dread of creditors: our 'preſent ſituation therefore is abundantly grie-'vous; yet accompanied with apprehenſions of

'evils ſtill more alarming. To conclude, what 'remains to us but life and miſery?

'How then? will you not rouſe to action? 'Behold the objects, after which you long have 'earned! Behold liberty! and with it riches, 'public dignities, and applauſe, all placed full in 'your view! All theſe recompences fortune has 'prepared for the conquerors. You have indeed 'motives to urge you, ſtronger than any ſpeech of 'mine; even the preſent conjuncture and oppor-'tunity, the danger hanging over us, the wants 'that preſs us, with the glorious ſpoils of war.

'For myſelf, uſe me how you liſt; as your 'leader, or as a private ſoldier: neither in coun-'cil, nor in execution, will I ever fail you. But 'I hope firſt to be conſul, and then concert with 'you how to conduct this our common enter-'prize: provided, after all, I be not miſtaken a-'bout you, and you be not determined to pre-'fer bondage to empire.'

After theſe his followers had heard this reaſoning and harangue, though they were men preſſed with manifold miſeries, deſtitute of all things, even be-reft of every honeſt hope, and, being thus deſpe-rate, eſteemed the pleaſure of overturning the ſtate to be a mighty recompence; yet very many of them inſiſted, that he would explain 'the 'grounds and condition of their taking arms; 'what were to be the advantages and rewards of 'their warfare; upon what reſources they were 'to depend, and what proſpect of ſucceſs they 'had?'

Catiline, in anſwer, promiſed them an authen-

tic abolition of all their debts; the proſcription and plunder of all that were wealthy; all public dignities, civil and ſacred; unbounded ſpoil; with whatever elſe is produced by war, and the lawleſs paſſions of conquerors. He added, that Piſo, and Publius Stitius Nucerinus, were both engaged in his meaſures; the former at the head of an army in Spain, the other commanding one in Mauritania: that, as Caius Antonius ſued for the conſulſhip, he hoped to have him for his collegue, one intirely intimate with him, and deſperately diſtreſſed in his affairs; and that in conjunction with him, as ſoon as they entered upon their conſulſhip, he would fall upon the execution of the deſign.

He then poured invectives upon all men of merit, extolled theſe his own confederates, and, calling to every individual by his name, talked, to one, of his wants; to another, of his amours; to ſeveral, of their former rapine, in conſequence of the victory and ſettlement of Sylla. At laſt, ſeeing them all elate and reſolute, he preſſed them to forward zealouſly his ſuit for the conſulſhip, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

There were at that time ſome, who reported, that Catiline, when he had concluded his ſpeech, and proceeded to tender his accomplices an oath, preſented them all round with a bowl of wine mixed with human blood; that then, when according to the uſages in ſacrifices, they had all ſworn and taſted, he opened his whole ſcheme; and that this courſe he took, to bind them more firmly to mutual faith and ſecrecy, as each was

privy to the guilt of another in an abomination ſo horrible. Some believe, that this, and much more, was forged by Cicero's friends; who perceiving what public hate followed the execution of ſome of the conſpirators, thought to allay it by thus aggravating their crimes. For myſelf, I can find but ſmall evidence for a fact ſo hideous and extraordinary.

Now, one in this conſpiracy was Quintus Curius, a man of no mean birth, but immerſed in debauchery and crimes, and (as a public mark of infamy upon him) degraded by the cenſors from the dignity of a ſenator: as the levity of this man's temper was equal to his audaciouſneſs, whatever he heard, he was ſure to diſcloſe; nor could he even hide his own enormities and ſhame. In truth, in whatever he ſaid, in whatever he did, he had neither conſideration nor reſtraint.

Between him and Fulvia, a woman of quality, there had been a long amour; and, as he perceived himſelf become leſs agreeable to her, ſince his poverty had rendered him leſs liberal, at firſt he tempted her with magnificent promiſes, boaſting of ſeas and mountains of wealth; then again he raged, threatening to kill her, unleſs ſhe ſubmitted to his will. In a word, he behaved more imperiouſly than ever he was wont.

As ſoon as Fulvia had learned the ground of ſuch haughty ſtrains, ſhe kept not concealed ſuch threatening danger to the ſtate, but diſcovered to many whatever ſhe had heard of Catiline's conſpiracy; ſuppreſſing nothing but the name of her author.

It was this conſideration, eſpecially, that awakened the minds of men, and made them zealous to confer the conſulſhip upon Cicero. For, before, moſt of the nobility ſtormed, through envy, againſt that choice; and thought the conſulſhip would ſuffer a ſort of profanation, were it once borne by one ſo newly riſen, though one of celebrated merit. But now, when general peril was impending, perſonal envy and ſcorn ſubſided.

Upon holding therefore the aſſembly for elections, Cicero and Caius Antonius were declared conſuls: an event which firſt ſhocked and diſconcerted the aſſociates in the conſpiracy,

Yet ſuch was the furious ſpirit of Catiline, as to purſue his treaſon with unabated ardour: nay, every day he made freſh efforts, provided ſtores of arms in all the moſt commodious places in Italy; borrowed money upon his own credit, or that of his friends; and tranſmitted it to one Manlius at the city of Faeſulae, the ſame who afterwards firſt began the war.

He is moreover ſaid, at this juncture, to have gained to his party men of all conditions, as alſo ſeveral women, thoſe particularly, who had once made ſuch great gain of their lewdneſs, as to ſupport an immenſe expence; but were afterwards involved in mighty debts: for when age had ſhortened the meaſure of their gain, they had neglected to ſhorten that of their luxury. Through their means Catiline hoped to draw over the city bondmen; and by them to ſet Rome on fire. Theſe women were likewiſe to engage their huſ-

bands in the conſpiracy, or to kill them, if they refuſed.

Sempronia was one of the ladies juſt mentioned; one who had performed various adventures, that manifeſted a ſpirit extremely daring and maſculine. In her perſon, and her race, ſhe was abundantly diſtinguiſhed and happy; as alſo in her huſband and children; was well inſtructed in the Greek and Roman languages; and, in muſic and dancing, had more charms and addreſs than ſuited a virtuous woman; with many other accompliſhments, ſuch as incite to vice and voluptuouſneſs. Indeed, of all things upon earth, ſhe leaſt regarded modeſty and honour; and it is hard to determine, whether ſhe was leaſt ſparing of, her character, or her money. In her lewd purſuits ſhe was ſo ardent, that ſhe oftener made advances to men, than men to her. She had been long ſince branded, for having forfeited her plighted faith, and, by perjury, evaded debts and demands of truſt; to have been privy to aſſaſſinations; and, by a courſe of voluptuouſneſs followed with indigence, had plunged herſelf headlong into all the exceſſes of iniquity. With all theſe blots, ſhe had a wit very pertinent and pleaſing; could compoſe verſes; enliven converſation; talk in any ſtrain, modeſt, or tender, or ſatyrical To conclude, ſhe excelled in humour and gaiety, and had an engaging manner.

Catiline, having taken theſe meaſures, ſtill perſevered in his ſuit for the conſulſhip, and declared himſelf a candidate for the enſuing year: for he hoped, if he were choſen, to govern Antonius as

he pleaſed. Neither during this interval, did he remain inactive; but was contriving endleſs plots for the deſtruction of Cicero. Nor was Cicero wanting in ſubtilty and intrigues for his own ſecurity: for, from the very beginning of his conſulſhip, he had effectually employed Fulvia, with offers of ſuch vaſt rewards to Quintus Curius, whom I lately mentioned, that he revealed to Cicero all the treaſonable devices of Catiline. Then, by the promiſe of a province to his brother conſul, he had ſecured him againſt all intention of diſturbing the republic. Beſides, he had always about him a number of his friends and followers, who were a real guard, without the name and formality

When the day of election came, Catiline, finding that neither his ſuit for the chief magiſtracy, nor his plots to take away the life of Cicero in the field of election, had at all ſucceeded, reſolved upon open war, and to try the moſt daring and deſperate courſes, ſince his ſecret machinations had ended in anguiſh and infamy.

With this view, he diſpatched Caius Manlius to the city of Faeſulae, and the adjacent parts of Etruria; one Septimius (a native of Camertes) to the territory of Picenum; Caius Julius to Apulia; and others elſewhere, juſt as it conduced to his purpoſe.

All this while he was making at Rome many efforts together; laying new ſnares againſt the life of the conſul; contriving how to ſet fire to the city; poſting armed men to ſecure the moſt commodious places; he himſelf was always ready

ready armed, always giving orders to his followers; urging them to be ever vigilant, ever prepared: Night and day he hurried; lived without ſleep; and was utterly indefatigable under all labour and want of repoſe.

At laſt, when he found, that, with all his many attempts, he made no ſort of progreſs in any, he employed Porcius Laecca to call together once more the principal conſpirators, during the dead of night; and after many complaints of their want of vigour, he informed them, 'That he had ſent 'forward Manlius to command a number of men, 'whom he had before provided, to take arms; 'that to other proper places he had ſent other 'officers, to begin the war; and that he himſelf 'longed exceedingly to proceed to the army, 'provided he could firſt deſtroy Cicero; for that 'Cicero infinitely obſtructed all their ſchemes.'

Now, whilſt all the reſt of the aſſembly continued mute, through dread of irreſolution, Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, offered his ſervice; and Lucius Vargunteius, a ſenator, joining with him, they agreed, immediately upon the approaching morning, to furniſh themſelves with armed aſſiſtants; and, repairing to Cicero, under ſhew of paying their reſpects, to fall upon him by ſurprize, and aſſaſſinate him. Curius, finding what deadly peril threatened the conſul, incontinently acquainted him, by Fulvia, with their black contrivance. When therefore they came, they were denied entrance, and ſaw themſelves defeated in ſo deſperate an attempt.

During theſe tranſactions, Manlius was inflaming the populace in Etruria, of themſelves paſſionate for innovations, both from their preſent poverty, and their reſentment of cruel uſage paſt: For, under the uſurpation of Sylla, they had been ſtripped of their lands, and all that they had. He likewiſe engaged in his party all the thieves and freebooters of every kind, ſuch as ſwarm in that quarter; with ſome too of the colonies ſettled by Sylla; men who, having formerly gained infinite ſpoil, had now, through riot and debauchery, ſeen an end of the whole.

Cicero, when he had an account of theſe tranſactions, was ſorely ſtruck with an evil ſo dangerous and diſtreſſing; ſince he could neither by his own ſingle management, longer ſecure the city againſt inteſtine incendiaries, nor was as yet thoroughly appriſed, either of the ſtrength, or of the purpoſes of Manlius's army. He therefore aſſembled the ſenate, and to them opened the conſpiracy, which had been already, for ſome time, much bandied in the converſation of the commonalty.

Thus the ſenate, agreeable to common uſage in conjunctures of great peril and alarm, ordained, 'That the conſuls ſhould take effectual meaſures, that no damage accrued to the ſtate'. Such is the ſupreme authority, thus transferred by the ſenate to the magiſtrate, according to the policy of the Roman government. By it he is impowered to levy forces, to make war, to exerciſe jurisdiction without bounds over the confederates, and even over the citizens, with the ſovereign adminiſtration and, command, both in the city and

the camp: acts of power, which are not, otherwiſe, included in the conſular authority, unleſs by an ordinance of the people in their aſſemblies.

A few days after this, there was read in the ſenate, by Lucius Senius, one of that order, a letter brought to him, he ſaid, from the town of Faeſulae; recounting, that, towards the latter end of October, Caius Manlius had taken up arms, at the head of a great hoſt of people. To this news ſome added (what is uſual under ſuch public alarms) a recital of portentous ſpectacles, with marvellous and prophetic prodigies: others too related, what numerous cabals were holden; what quantities of arms were carried, and whither; and that, at Capua, and likewiſe in Apulia, there were bands of ſlaves arming apace.

The ſenate therefore ordered Quintus Marcius Rex to the town of Faeſulae; as alſo Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia, and the adjacent country. Theſe two officers, lately commanders of armies, were then waiting without the city for the honour of triumph, which was refuſed them by the management and malicious repreſentations of certain citizens, whoſe rule it was, to make ſale of all things, honourable or infamous. The praetors too, Quintus Pompeius, and Quintus Metellus Celer, were ſent one to Capua, the other to the territory of Picenum, with diſcretionary authority to raiſe forces in proportion to the public exigency and peril.

It was likewiſe decreed, 'That whoever of the 'conſpirators would make a diſcovery of the 'conſpiracy, ſhould, if a ſlave, have a reward

'of one hundred thouſand Seſterces *, and his 'liberty; if a freeman, double that ſum, and 'his pardon.' The ſenate moreover ordained, 'That the bands of gladiators ſhould be diſtribut-'ed amongſt the municipal cities, Capua, and the 'reſt, in proportion to the ſtrength and power 'of each; and that, for the ſecurity of Rome, 'guards ſhould be poſted in every quarter, under 'the command of the ſubordinate magiſtrates.'

The city was thoroughly affected by all theſe ſymptoms of peril, and aſſumed a new face. From the higheſt general feſtivity, and even riot, ſuch as reſulted from a long courſe of tranquillity, in an inſtant ſadneſs ſeized every heart. Full of reſtleſſneſs, full of affright, they were all equally inſecure, and all diſtruſtful of places, and of perſons: they neither enjoyed peace, nor yet were engaged in war; and each judged the meaſure of danger to correſpond with that of his own fears. The women alſo were terribly alarmed with the unuſual apprehenſions of a war, ſuch as the mighty power of the commonwealth had hitherto ſecured them againſt: they gave themſelves up to lamentation and anguiſh; ſupplicated the Gods with uplifted hands; bewailed their tender infants; were importunate for news; frightened at all things; and, quitting their vanity and fond delights, became anxious for themſelves and country.

Yetſtill the ſanguinary ſpirit of Catiline perſevered in the ſame inhuman purſuit, although he ſaw armies and guards raiſed to defeat it; nay,

* About five hundred pounds, Engliſh money

though he himſelf ſtood arraigned by Lucius Paulus, upon the law of Marcus Plautius againſt treaſon and aſſaſſination. He even appeared in the ſenate, the better to diſſemble his purpoſes; as if, provoked by injurious invectives, he only came there to vindicate his injured character. Upon his entrance, the conſul Cicero, either apprehending his preſence there to be of ill effect, or prompted by indignation, made that awakening ſpeech, (which he afterwards publiſhed) then ſo ſeaſonably to the commonwealth. Yet, as ſoon as he ſat down, Catiline, who was determined to diſavow every article, accoſted the ſenate; and, with modeſt downcaſt looks, and an humble ſupplicating voice, beſought the fathers, 'That they would not 'lightly receive any charge againſt him: ſuch was the 'race from whence he ſprang, ſuch too had been 'the rule and courſe of his life from his youth, 'that, from the public, he hoped for every ho'nourable, for every favourable impreſſion. They 'could not ſurely conceive, that he, a patrician 'born, he, who had himſelf done, he, whoſe 'progenitors had done, ſuch numberleſs ſervices 'to the people of Rome, could find his intereſt 'in the deſtruction of the commonwealth; whilſt 'ſuch an upſtart as Cicero, a Roman only by ad'miſſion, aſſumed the defence of it.'

To theſe invectives he was proceeding to add others; when the whole ſenate, with indignation, and a general outcry, treated him as a traitor and parricide! Then abandoning himſelf to utter rage, 'Seeing (ſays he) I am on every ſide beſet by

'deadly deſigns, and driven by my enemies to 'extremities, I will, by general deſolation, ſup-'preſs the flames kindled to devour me.'

Having ſo ſaid, he ruſhed out, and went home. There, after having balanced by himſelf a thouſand ſchemes and reflections; that not only his devices againſt the life of the conſul were ſtill unſucceſsful, but the firing of the city was alſo defeated by guards every-where placed; he judged it his wiſeſt courſe to reinforce his army, and to anticipate the legions, by catching all advantages, and providing whatever was neceſſary to an army, before theſe legions were ready for the field. He therefore retired in the dead of the night, and, with a few in his company, proceeded to the camp of Manlius. He left however a charge with Cethegus and Lentulus, and with ſuch others as he knew to be moſt forward and deſperate, that, by all poſſible methods, they ſhould ſtrengthen the party; diſpatch the aſſaſſination of the conſul; then proceed to the intended maſſacre; to fire Rome, and perform all the other gallant feats of warriors. For himſelf, he would, in a ſhort time, advance to their ſuccour with a powerful army.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, Caius Manlius diſpatched deputies to Quintus Marcus Rex, with orders to accoſt him in the following ſtrain:

'We appeal to the teſtimony of Gods and 'men, O General, that we have taken up arms 'with no view either to hurt our country, or to 'diſtreſs particular men; but only to ſecure our

'own perſons from outrages, wretched and indi-
'gent as we are, through the inhuman violence
'of uſurpers; moſt of us bereft of our abodes;
'all of our reputation and fortune; not one of
'us allowed the protection of the laws, our birth-
'right by inheritance; not one of us permitted
'to enjoy the liberty of his perſon, even when we
'have nothing elſe left us to enjoy. Such hath
'been the cruelty of our creditors, ſuch that of
'the Praetorian tribunals. Often have our fore-
'fathers exerciſed their commiſeration towards the
'Roman people, and ſuccoured them in diſtreſs,
'by ordinances of ſtate. Nay, we have ſeen, in
'our own times, a recent inſtance, where, in
'conſideration of the univerſal preſſure of debts,
'public authority intervened; and, with the una-
'nimous voice of every good citizen, the creditors
'were obliged to take a compoſition. Often too
'have the Roman people withdrawn, and ſeparat-
'ed themſelves from the ſenate, when either in-
'cited by a paſſion for popular rule, or urged to
'it for ſelf defence againſt the inſolence of their
'magiſtrates.

'For us; our purſuit is neither wealth nor
'power, though theſe be the two great ſources
'of all wars and combuſtions amongſt men. What
'we ſeek is liberty; that liberty which no vir-
'tuous man will loſe, but together with his life.
'We therefore conjure thee, O General, thee and
'the ſenate, to eſpouſe the intereſt of forlorn ci-
'tizens; to reſtore us the protection of the laws,
'rent from us by the violence of the Praetorian
'tribunal; and not to reduce us to the deſperate

'neceſſity of only ſtudying ſo to periſh, as amply 'to avenge our own blood upon ſuch as ſhed 'it.'

To all this Marcius replied, 'That, if they had 'any requeſt to the ſenate, they ſhould forth-'with abandon their arms, and repair as ſupplicants 'to Rome: ſince ſuch had ever been the clemen-'cy and compaſſion of the Roman ſenate and peo-'ple, that to them no man had ever ſued in vain 'for relief.'

Now Catiline, whilſt yet upon the road, ſent letters to many ſenators of conſular diſtinction, and indeed to every citizen of principal eſtimation, 'That as his life was ſought by forged crimes, and 'he could not reſiſt the combination of his ene-'mies, he yielded to his fortune, and was retiring 'as an exile to Marſeilles; ſtung by no guilt of 'the terrible imputed treaſon, but only for the 'tranquillity of the commonwealth; leſt, had he 'ſtaid, and maintained his innocence, public tu-'mults might have enſued.'

But the letter which Quintus Catulus recited in the ſenate, and declared to have received from Catiline, was conceived in a ſtyle quite oppoſite. Here follows a copy of it:

LUCIUS CATILINE, *to* QUINTUS CATULUS, *Health.*

'SUCH hath been thy diſtinguiſhed faith and 'friendſhip to me, and ſo abundantly prov-'ed upon trial, whilſt I was preſſed by the high-'eſt perils, that I am thence emboldened to make

'thee this application. For this reaſon, I wave 'offering thee any defence of my preſent pro-'ceedings: as I am conſcious of no guilt, I pro-'poſe only to make thee a declaration of my inno-'cence. How true this declaration is, thou 'wilt be abundantly convinced: for this I appeal 'to the gods.

'Finding myſelf purſued by a courſe of in-'juſtice and falſe accuſations, and thence bereft 'of the reward of my public ſervices and zeal, 'and diſappointed of the dignity for which I ſu-'ed, I am thus rouſed to undertake (as has ever 'been my character and practice) the common 'cauſe of the miſerable; not becauſe I am excit-'ed to it by any diſtreſs or debts of my own; 'ſince what I owe on my own account, my own 'fortune ſuffices to diſcharge; and Oreſtilla would 'out of hers, and that of her daughter, freely 'clear all my engagements on account of others; 'but perceiving men of no worth diſtinguiſhed 'with the high honours of the ſtate, and ſeeing 'myſelf, by cauſleſs jealouſies, excluded from 'them, I have, under this provocation, and for 'ſecuring the remains of my rank and dignity, 'had recourſe to ſuch counſels, as in my preſent 'ſituation will abundantly juſtify themſelves.

'I have much more to ſay; but at this in-'ſtant I am informed, that deadly meaſures are 'taken againſt me. I therefore juſt recommend 'Oreſtilla to thee, and to thy faithful protection: 'defend her from injuſtice, by thy dear children 'I adjure thee. Farewel.'

Now, when he had ſtaid a few days with Caius Flaminius in the territory belonging to Reate, juſt to furniſh arms to that quarter gained to his party, he proceeded, with rods and axes, and all the other badges of conſular power, to the camp of Manlius.

As ſoon as the news of this were verified at Rome, the ſenate declared Catiline and Manlius public enemies, with pardon to all thoſe of their followers, who by a day certain ſhould quit their arms, except only ſuch who were under ſentence for capital crimes. It was moreover decreed, That the conſuls ſhould forthwith levy forces; that Antonius ſhould march in purſuit of Catiline; and Cicero remain for the defence of the city.

At this juncture, the condition of the Roman commonwealth ſeems to me to have been infinitely deplorable; ſince, whilſt every region, from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, (all ſubdued by her arms) ſubmitted to her government; whilſt, within her walls, extreme wealth, and all tranquillity, reigned; things which paſs with men for ſovereign enjoyment and bliſs; there were yet ſome of her own citizens, with deſperate ſpirits, bent upon the deſtruction of the ſtate, and even upon their own with it. For, notwithſtanding two decrees publiſhed by the ſenate, not a man was found amongſt all that hoſt of traitors, to accept the promiſed recompence, and diſcover the conſpiracy; not a man of Catiline's army, to deſert from him: ſuch an invincible ſpirit of diſaffection had, like a peſtilence, generally ſeized the minds of men.

Neither was this angry humour confined only

to the conſpirators, and their accomplices: the commonalty too, in a body, from a paſſion for public changes, approved the purſuits of Catiline; and in this ſeemed but to follow their uſual bent.

For, in this our city, they who are deſtitute of place and ſubſtance, ever repine at the enjoyments and diſtinctions of virtuous men; ever extol the vicious; hate the old ways; long for novelties and change; and, from diſguſt to their own condition, labour to introduce univerſal confuſion. In popular commotions and diſcord they find their ſubſiſtence without pains and care; ſince poverty has ever this advantage, that it has nothing to loſe.

From other cauſes too, the Roman populace were prompted to deſperate courſes; chiefly, becauſe from all quarters there flocked into Rome, as into a common ſink, whoever ſurpaſſed in villany and impudence at home, together with thoſe who had waſted their fortunes in prodigality and riot; in a word, all they who were fugitives for their infamy or crimes. Many were continually revolving upon the uſurpation of Sylla, whence they ſaw ſome raiſed from common ſoldiers to the dignity of ſenators, and others to ſuch exceſſive wealth, that in pomp and magnificence they lived like kings; and every individual hoped, if he were but engaged in a civil war, to obtain victory, and thence the ſame advantages to himſelf.

Moreover the young men from the country, formerly accuſtomed to earn, by agriculture, juſt enough to ſupport life, having been drawn to Rome by the allurements of largeſſes, ſome diſtri-

buted by the ſtate, ſome by particular citizens, came to prefer eaſe and idleneſs in the city, to their penurious toil in the fields.

Theſe, and all who reſembled them, found their ſupport in the calamities and diſorders of the ſtate. Hence the leſs wonder, that ſuch men as theſe, preſſed with wants, diſſolute in their manners, extravagant in their views, ſhould conſult the welfare of the commonwealth, juſt as far as it conduced to their own.

They alſo whoſe parents were proſcribed, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated, and who had loſt the rights of citizens, under the uſurpation of Sylla, had no other nor better views in the expectancy and event of the preſent civil war.

Beſides, whoever were of any party whatſoever different from that of the ſenate, wiſhed rather to ſee the commonwealth in confuſion, than themſelves deprived of popular ſway: an old evil! which, after an interval of many years, had again revived in the city.

For, after the power of the tribunes of the people was reſtored to its former vigour, under the conſulſhip of Pompey and Craſſus, certain young men, acquiring that ſupreme popular magiſtracy, in the bloom of their life, and flaming with turbulent paſſions, began to rouſe the people to diſaffectation, firſt by criminal imputations againſt the ſenate; then by liberalities, and flattering promiſes, to heighten their diſaffection into a flame; and thus gained to themſelves ſignal renown, and mighty credit. To thwart them, and their meaſures, the generality of the nobles made their

utmoſt efforts, in ſhew, for ſupport of the ſenate, in reality, for that of their own grandeur. In truth, to compriſe all in a few words, during all thoſe times, whoever raiſed civil diſſentions in the commonwealth, uſed plauſable pretences; ſome to vindicate the rights of the people, others to exalt the authority of the ſenate, both ſorts to purſue the public good; yet all only ſtriving ſeverally to procure weight and power to themſelves. Neither in theſe their civil conteſts did any of them obſerve moderation or bounds: whatever party conquered, ſtill uſed their victory with violence and inhumanity.

Now, after Pompey was ſent from home, as general in the war againſt the pirates, then in that againſt Mithridates, the power of the people ſunk very low, and the whole ſway was engroſſed by a few. Theſe graſped the civil adminiſtration, the government of the provinces, and all things. Thus, unaccountable and proſperous, they lived confident of their own ſecurity, and fearleſs themſelves; whilſt, by the terror of their power and decrees, they reſtrained the popular magiſtrates from rouſing the people But, upon the firſt view of a change in the ſtate, the old competition was inſtantly renewed, with infinite animoſity, in the minds of the commonalty.

Now, ſuppoſe Catiline had conquered in the firſt engagement, or had even retired with equal loſe, ſurely very tragical calamities muſt have overwhelmed the commonwealth. Nor would the conquerors have been ſuffered to enjoy their victory long; ſince, when they were weakened and

exhauſted, whoever had ſuperior power, would have ſeized the government, and oppreſſed public liberty.

There were, however, ſeveral, who, though unengaged with the conſpirators, yet immediately followed Catiline. One of theſe was Aulus Fulvius, (the ſon of a ſenator) taken upon the road, brought back, and ſlain by the order of his father.

Lentulus, at the ſame time, was purſuing the directions of Catiline; and, by himſelf, or his agents, gaining over all ſuch as, either from their characters or fortune, he judged proper inſtruments for a revolution; not only Roman citizens, but all men of what ſort ſoever, ſo they were fit for arms.

Lentulus, therefore, employed one Publius Umbrenus to apply to the deputies of the Allobrogians, and oblige them, if he could, to join in the war; for he fanſied, that, as their ſtate, as alſo the members of the ſtate, were univerſally oppreſſed with debts, and as the whole people of Gaul were naturally fierce and warlike, they might eaſily be perſuaded into ſuch a deſign. Umbrenus, having, as a trader, been converſant in Gaul, was generally known to the leading men in their ſeveral communities, and acquainted with their characters. So that, without delay, the moment he beheld the deputies in the Forum, he began with certain queſtions concerning the condition of their nation: then, affecting great grief for their oppreſſions, proceeded to aſk, 'What iſſue they 'hoped to their crying calamities?' Next, when he perceived, that they complained of the rapaci-

ouſneſs of our magiſtrates, that they reproached the ſenate for yielding them no ſuccour or protection, and expected from death alone a remedy to their many miſeries; he replied, 'Provided you 'reſolve to act like men, I will preſent you with 'an expedient to releaſe yourſelves from all theſe 'crying calamities.' Immediately the Allobrogians, raiſed to the higheſt hopes by what he had ſaid, conjured him, 'to pity them: there was no-'thing ſo dangerous, (they ſaid) nothing ſo diffi-'cult, but they would moſt heartily perform, if by 'it, whatever it were, their nation might be re-'deemed from the oppreſſion of debts.'

Umbrenus then carried them to the houſe of Decius Brutus; for it joined to the Forum, and was no improper ſcene for ſuch a conſultation, ſince Sempronia was an accomplice, and Brutus was then from Rome. Moreover, to gain the greater weight and credit to what he had to ſay, he had Gabinius called to the interview, and, before him, opened the whole conſpiracy, named all the accomplices, and many others of all ſtations, who were utterly guiltleſs; but mentioned by him to inſpire the deputies with the higher hopes and boldneſs. Having thus gained from them an engagement for their aſſiſtance, he let them retire.

The deputies, however, wavered long what counſel to chuſe. Here, to induce them, were conſuming debts, a paſſion for war, and mighty ſpoil attending victory: there, ſuperior puiſſance, proceedings legal and ſure, and, for uncertain hope, rewards ſolid and certain.

As they were thus in ſuſpence, the fortune

of the Roman republic prevailed; ſo that they unfolded the whole detail (juſt as they had learned it) to Quintus Fabius Sanga, upon whoſe patronage their nation chiefly relied. Cicero, who was appriſed of the deſign by Sanga, injoined the deputies to feign a flaming zeal for the conſpiracy; to apply aſſiduouſly to the reſt of the conſpirators; to promiſe abundantly; and to ſtudy to bring them all under the cleareſt conviction.

Near about the ſame conjuncture there were commotions in both the Gauls; as alſo in the territory of Picenum, in Bruttium and Apulia. For the creatures of Catiline, ſent by him into theſe ſeveral quarters, behaved abſurdly; and, as if madneſs had poſſeſſed them, puſhed, precipitately, all their meaſures at once: ſo that, by all their nocturnal conſultations, by their conveying armour and weapons hither and thither, by their furious haſte and tumultuous doings, they only cauſed more affright than danger: a great number of theſe Quintus Metellus Celer, the praetor, adjudged to bonds, in conformity to the decree of the ſenate; as Caius Muraena did many others in Ciſalpine Gaul; where he governed under the character of lieutenant-general.

At Rome, the while, Lentulus, in concert with the other heads of the conſpiracy, reckoning themſelves now ſure of abundant force, determined, that, whenever Catiline arrived with his army in the territory of Faeſulae, Lucius Beſtia, one of the tribunes, ſhould aſſemble the people, purpoſely to incenſe them againſt Cicero, by popular imputations upon his conduct, and to faſten upon

the excellent conſul the odious blame of a war ſo afflicting and calamitous. This was to be the ſignal to the whole crowd of conſpirators, for reſorting on the night enſuing to the diſcharge of their ſeveral parts.

Now theſe parts were ſaid to be thus diſtributed: Statilius and Gabinius, aſſiſted with a powerful band, were to ſet fire, at once, to twelve ſelect quarters of the city; for that, in a confuſion ſo general, it were eaſier to reach the perſon of the conſul, and thoſe of all the reſt, who were marked for deſtruction. Cethegus was to force his doors, and put him to death. Others had, for their ſhare, the like bloody work: nay, there were youths, yet under the roof of their parents, (moſt of them from amongſt the nobility) who were to butcher their own fathers; and, when, by devouring flames and maſſacre, they had ſpread univerſal fear and anguiſh, they were to ſally out in a body to meet Catiline.

During the debate of theſe meaſures, now formed, and of theſe reſolutions, now fixed, Cethegus was always complaining 'of want of ſpirit 'in his aſſociates; that, by eternal ballancing and 'procraſtination, they abuſed many glorious op-'portunities. In an enterpriſe thus daring and 'perillous, execution was more requiſite than de-'liberation. For himſelf; would but a few of 'them ſupport him, he would, notwithſtanding 'the remiſſneſs of the reſt, fall openly upon the 'ſenate.' As he was, by nature, daring and determined, his ſpirit impetuous, in his perſon

prompt and enterpriſing, he eſteemed their beſt meaſure to be diſpatch.

Now the Allobrogians, according to their inſtructions from Cicero, had a meeting, by the means of Gabinius, with the reſt of the conſpirators. There they demanded the ſecurity of an oath, from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, as alſo from Caſſius, ſigned ſeverally by them; ſuch as they might carry to their countrymen, who, without it, would not be engaged in tranſactions of ſuch high moment. All, except Caſſius, complied, without the leaſt apprehenſion. He, who, indeed, had promiſed to be with them preſently, went out of Rome, a little ſooner than the deputies. In company with theſe, Lentulus ſent Titus Volturcius, one of Crotona, with orders, that, before they proceeded home, they ſhould repeat and confirm the league with Catiline, by reciprocal ties. He alſo gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, of which I here ſubjoin a copy.

'Who it is that ſends thee this, thou wilt 'learn from him that brings it. Be ſure to conſi-'der thy own deſperate ſituation, and remember, 'that thou art a man. Recollect what thy cir-'cumſtances demand. Seek aſſiſtance from all, 'even from the loweſt and baſeſt.'

He likewiſe ſent him verbal inſtructions; namely, to expoſtulate, 'With what view Catiline 'could reject the ſuccours of ſlaves, when the ſe-'nate had already declared him a public enemy:' and to aſſure him, 'That, in Rome, all diſpoſi-'tions were now made conformable to his own

'orders; and, on his part, he muſt not delay to 'advance.'

Theſe things having thus paſſed, Cicero, on the night appointed for the departure of the deputies, from whom he learnt all, ordered the praetors, Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomptinus, privately to ſecure the Milvian bridge; and apprehend, as they paſſed, the Allobrogians, and their train. He explained to them, at large, the cauſe of thus employing them, and, allowing them a band of ſoldiers, left them to proceed as exigencies required. They, therefore, poſting their guards without noiſe or ſhew, ſilently beſet the bridge. When the deputies and Volturcius arrived, and ſhouts aroſe on both ſides, the Allobrogians, who were ſoon appriſed of the deſign, ſurrendered themſelves, without a pauſe, to the praetors. Volturcius, at firſt, boldly encouraged his companions; and, with his ſword, defended himſelf, though numbers encompaſſed him. Then, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the deputies, he began to abjure Pomptinus, as his acquaintance, with many arguments, to ſave his life: at laſt, full of dread, and void of hope, he yielded to the praetors, as to a foreign enemy.

When all this was effected, meſſengers were inſtantly diſpatched, with an account of the whole, to Cicero. He, in truth, now found himſelf poſſeſſed, at once, with much joy, and much anxiety. He rejoiced to ſee the republic ſnatched from deſtruction by a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy; but felt great ſolicitude, from the difficulty of proceeding againſt citizens, of ſuch ſig-

nal power and eminence, convicted of ſuch enormous treaſon. To puniſh them, he judged, would draw much heavy enmity upon himſelf; to let them go unpuniſhed, would bring perdition upon the ſtate.

Hence, rouſing his ſpirit to reſolution, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, to be brought before him, with Caeparius too of Terracina, who was upon the point of repairing to Apulia, there to engage the ſlaves to revolt. The others came without heſitation; but Caeparius, who had juſt gone from his houſe, having learnt that all was diſcovered, was fled out of Rome.

The conſul brought Lentulus into the ſenate, which he had aſſembled in the temple of Concord, himſelf leading him by the hand; for Lentulus was then praetor. The reſt he ordered to be carried thither under guard. Vaſt was the appearance of ſenators: before them he ordered Volturcius and the deputies to be produced; and directed Flaccus the praetor to bring the packet of letters, which he had found upon them.

Volturcius, when he was examined about his journey, and the packet of letters, and, laſtly, what was his purpoſe in it, upon what advice and motives he undertook it; returned, at firſt, anſwers quite foreign and framed; and affected utter ignorance of the conſpiracy. But, as ſoon as the ſenate had ſecured his pardon by tendering him the public faith, he divulged every tranſaction, and ſhewed, that, 'but a few days before, Gabi-
'nius and Caeparius had adopted him for an aſſo-

'ciate: that, beſides this, he knew no more than 'the deputies; only he uſed to hear Gabinius de-'clare, that Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, 'Lucius Vargunteius, were, with many others, 'accomplices in the conſpiracy.'

The deputies, in their confeſſion, agreed with him in his. They likewiſe clearly convicted Lentulus, (who was aſſerting his innocence) not only by writing under his hand, but by his common diſcourſe, 'That by the Sybilline prophecies, the 'ſovereignty of Rome was foredoomed to three 'of the Cornelian race; firſt to Cinna, then to 'Sylla; and he himſelf was now the third deſtin-'ed by fate to ſway the empire: that, beſides, 'the preſent year was the twentieth ſince the 'burning of the capitol; a period productive of 'mighty civil ſlaughter, according to the expla-'nations frequently made of prodigies by the 'augurs.'

The ſenate therefore, when the letters were read, and after the criminals had acknowleged their ſeveral ſignets, paſt a decree that Lentulus ſhould be diveſted of his office, and, with the reſt, holden in cuſtody, but not in priſon. Thus Lentulus was delivered to Publius Lentulus Spinther, then Ædile; Cethegus to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius to Caius Caeſar; Gabinius to Marcus Craſſus; and Caeparius (juſt before ſeized in his flight, and brought back) to Cneius Terentius the ſenator.

In the mean while, the commonalty, they who juſt before, from a paſſion for public changes, were but too fond of inteſtine war, ſuddenly al-

tered their ſentiments, when the conſpiracy was thus publicly diſcovered. They all now curſed the devices of Catiline; all extolled Cicero to the ſkies; and, like people juſt ſnatched from bondage, gave full ſcope to their feſtivity and joy. For, though from the war, in its ordinary courſe and events, they thought to have found more ſpoil than loſs; yet they eſteemed the burning of Rome an inhuman attempt, horrible beyond meaſure, and utterly deſtructive to themſelves: ſince their whole ſubſtance conſiſted in what nouriſhed them from day to day, and in what they daily wore.

On the next day, when the ſenate ſat, there was brought before them one Lucius Tarquinius, charged with going to join Catiline, and ſeized by the way. This man, who offered to diſcloſe the particulars of the conſpiracy, under the ſecurity of public faith and indemnity, was indulged in this by the conſul, and bid to teſtify what he knew. He then informed the ſenate, very nearly as Volturcius had done, of the deſign concerted to ſet fire to the city, to murder all the beſt citizens, and to march the rebel army to Rome. He added, 'That he was diſpatched by Craſſus to Cati-'line, to warn him, in his name, not to be de-'jected by the apprehending of Lentulus, and 'Cethegus, and ſome other conſpirators, but the 'rather to haſten his march to Rome; whence, 'beſides reviving the ſpirit of the conſpirators in 'general, they who were in cuſtody might be 'ſnatched from vengeance.

Now the moment Tarquinius named Craſſus,

a man of grand quality, immenſe wealth, mighty influence and credit; they all cried out, that he was a falſe witneſs, and demanded to have it debated. Many indeed believed the charge utterly incredible: ſome, though they accounted it true, yet thought in a conjuncture ſo terrible, a man of ſuch prodigious ſway was rather to be courted than provoked. Beſides that, the generality of the ſenators were engaged to Craſſus by private ties and obligations. It was therefore decreed, in a full ſenate, even Cicero propoſed it, 'that the teſtimony of Tarquinius appeared to be forged, 'and that he ſhould be confined in irons, never 'to be delivered till he had diſcloſed by whoſe advice he had framed ſo daring an impoſture.' There were then thoſe who ſuppoſed this evidence to have been an artifice of Publius Autronius, whence Craſſus, finding himſelf involved in the ſame danger with the conſpirators, might ſerve them for a common ſanctuary, and protect them all by his mighty power.

Others alleged, that Tarquinius was tutored and prompted by Cicero, thus to diſable Craſſus from diſtreſſing the commonwealth by eſpouſing, as he was wont, the defence of public incendiaries. I have indeed heard Craſſus himſelf aver, that this glaring indignity was faſtened upon him by Cicero.

Yet, at this very time, Quintus Catulus and Caius Piſo could not prevail with Cicero, either by their great intereſt, or by their intreaties, or by any offers, to procure Caeſar to be falſly accuſed by the Allobrogians, or any other witneſs

whatſoever. For both theſe great men bore mortal enmity to Caeſar; Piſo, becauſe Caeſar had procured judgment againſt him for bribery in paſſing ſentence of death, unjuſtly, upon a man beyond the Po; Catulus continued to hate him, ever ſince their ſuit for the office of ſupreme pontiff, as he was enraged that Caeſar in his early youth ſhould gain it from him in his old age, after he had ſuſtained the higheſt dignities in the ſtate. Now this charge againſt him they concluded was probable and well-timed: for he had, both by his ſignal munificence to particulars, and by his boundleſs largeſſes to the people, contracted prodigious debts.

When therefore they failed to perſuade the conſul to ſo black an undertaking, they went themſelves ſedulouſly about from man to man, and by averring what they only feigned, how many inſtances of his guilt they themſelves had heard from Volturcius, as well as from the Allobrogians, expoſed him to extraordinary jealouſy and hate; ſo that certain Roman knights, attending in arms at the temple of Concord, as a guard to the ſenate, threatened him with their drawn ſwords, as he went out of the aſſembly; whether they were ſtruck with the prodigious horrour of the conſpiracy, or did it in a fit of bravery, thence the more to ſignalize their zeal for the commonweal.

Whilſt theſe were the tranſactions of the ſenate, and whilſt recompences were decreeing there to the deputies of the Allobrogians, and to Volturcius, whoſe ſeveral diſcoveries were now verified

and approved; the freedmen of Lentulus, with ſome few of his dependents, had divided themſelves into ſeveral quarters of the city; and whilſt ſome of them were ſuborning the ſlaves and common artizans about the ſtreets, to deliver him by force, the reſt were ſearching after the ringleaders of the croud, ſuch as are wont, for hire, to raiſe popular uproar and ſedition.

Cethegus, at the ſame time, had diſpatched meſſages to the ſlaves of his houſhold, and to ſome of his freedmen, ſuch, eſpecially, as were ſelect inſtruments, hardened and audacious in feats of violence, conjuring them to form an armed band, and, by ſtrong hand, to deliver them.

The conſul, as ſoon as he learnt what meaſures were purſuing, poſted gaurds in ſuch quarters, and in ſuch numbers, as the time and exigency required: then, aſſembling the ſenate, propoſed to their conſideration, 'What they would pleaſe 'finally to determine concerning the conſpira-'tors, now in cuſtody by their own order.' Indeed a very full ſenate had very lately adjudged them to be public traitors.

Decius Junius Silanus, therefore, whoſe opinion was firſt aſked, as he was then conſul elect, declared for capital puniſhment, to be inflicted, not upon the priſoners only, but alſo upon Lucius Caſſius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius, whenever they were apprehended; though, afterwards, yielding to the force of Caeſar's reaſoning, he profeſſed to acquieſce in the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who had propoſed

to have the guards increaſed, and the reſult poſtponed to another debate.

Caeſar himſelf, when aſked by the conſul in his turn, ſpoke in the following ſtrain:

'It is incumbent upon all men, conſcript fa-
'thers, in their deliberations upon every ſubject
'of tenderneſs and difficulty, to be exempt from
'all hate and affection, from all revenge and
'compaſſion. The ſoul, when ſuch paſſions ruffle
'it, can but ill exerciſe any juſt diſcernment:
'nor hath any man, whoſoever, at once purſued
'his own headſtrong will, and yet ſerved any lau-
'dable purpoſe. Your judgment, when you ex-
'ert that only, hath all due force and ſucceſs;
'but if paſſion ſeize you, it it that which maſters
'you; and then your rational faculties avail you
'nothing.

'Many are the inſtances, which I could re-
'count, of kings as well as people, falling into
'unhappy meaſures, by haſtily yielding to the
'impulſes of wrath, or to thoſe of commiſeration.
'But I had rather relate, from the examples of
'our foreſathers, what ſort of determinations they
'made, all in oppoſition to any heat and commo-
'tion of ſpirit, but all agreeable to good policy
'and the times.

'During the war which we maintained againſt
'Perſes king of Macedon, Rhodes, a mighty and
'opulent city, deriving too all her grandeur from
'the power and aid of the Romans, yet forfeited
'her faith to us, and took part againſt us. But,
'upon the iſſue of the war, when it came to be
'debated how to deal with the Rhodians, our an-

'ceſtors diſcharged them from all puniſhment
'and retribution; that no man might allege
'the quarrel to have begun rather from thirſt af-
'ter wealth, than from that of avenging injuries.
'Through the whole ſeries of our wars with Car-
'thage, though the Carthaginians, even during
'intervals of peace, even in the midſt of a truce,
'committed many and ſhocking inſults; ſtill our
'anceſtors never ſought or improved any opportu-
'nity of returning evil for evil; ſince they inquir-
'ed rather what was worthy of themſelves to do,
'than what might, in juſtice, be done againſt the
'Carthaginians.

'This is what behoves you alſo, conſcript fa-
'thers, now to conſider, and provide that the ini-
'quity of Lentulus, and of the reſt, weigh
'not more with you, than their own dignity ought
'to weigh; and that you gratify not your reſent-
'ment, at the expence of your fame. Indeed,
'if any chaſtiſement can be found worthy of their
'deſerts, I approve the propoſal, however new
'and extraordinary it be: but if their crime be ſuch,
'that it tranſcends the wit of man to find out
'an adequate puniſhment for it, my advice is
'for ſuch as the laws have already ordained.

'Moſt of the ſenators, who gave their opinion
'before me, have, in high and affecting ſtrains,
'bewailed the ſituation of the commonwealth:
'they have diſplayed all the cruelty of war, with
'the many woes attending the vanquiſhed; vir-
'gins raviſhed, youths conſtuprated, children torn
'from the boſoms of their parents, matrons ex-
'poſed to all the libidinous inſults of a victori-

'ous ſoldiery; public temples, and private dwellings, equally abandoned to plunder and outrage, all devoured by one common flame, and converted into ſcenes of ſlaughter; finally, all places filled with arms, carcaſſes, blood, and wailings.

'But, for the ſake of the immortal deities, whither tends ſuch tragical repreſentations? Is it to rouſe you to a deteſtation of the conſpiracy? As if he, whom a deſign ſo alarming cannot move, could be animated by a flow of words.

'This is not the way; nor do any injuries whatſoever appear light to him on whom they fall; and many are apt to magnify and reſent ſuch injuries without meaſure. But, according to the different ſtations of men, different allowances are made, conſcript fathers. When ſuch, who, in humble ſtation paſs their days in obſcurity, offend, through heat and tranſport, few there are who know it; for their name and character are as low as their fortune: but they who are inveſted with ſupreme power, ſtand in an elevated ſtation, and every ſtep they take is, by every eye, obſerved; ſo that to the higheſt dignity the ſmalleſt allowance is made. In ſuch a ſtation there is no room for partiality; none for averſion; leaſt of all for wrath and animoſity. That which in private life bears only the name of paſſion, whenever it is obſerved in men of authority, is called haughtineſs and cruelty.

'For myſelf, conſcript fathers, I eſteem all torments whatſoever to be ſhort of the guilt of

'theſe offenders: but it is the temper of human 'kind generally to remember beſt what happened 'laſt; and, forgetting the crimes of ſuffering par-'ricides, to entertain themſelves only about their 'puniſhment, if it prove but unuſually ſevere.

'What Decius Silanus, a man of great ho-'nour and ſpirit, has ſpoken, I am perfectly con-'vinced he ſpoke from zeal to the common-'wealth; and that, in an affair of ſuch mighty 'conſequence, he acts neither from favour nor 'enmity: ſuch is the uprightneſs, ſuch the mode-'ration which I have experienced in him. But 'what he propoſes, though, to me, it appear 'no wiſe cruel, (for, to ſuch men, what cruel-'ty can be ſhewn?) yet, ſtill, appears repugnant 'to the genius of our ſtate.

'Doubtleſs, thou waſt urged, either by fear 'or by an iniquity ſo heinous, O Silanus, our con-'ſul elect, to propoſe a puniſhment altogether 'new. How vain ſuch fear is, it would be ſu-'perfluous to argue; when, by the vigilance of 'a conſul ſo ſignally able and diſtinguiſhed as 'ours, ſo many and ſuch powerful forces are 'armed for our ſecurity: and concerning their 'puniſhment, we may, in truth, allege, what, 'in reality, the fact is; that, to ſuch as live in 'ſorrow and wretchedneſs, death proves a repoſe, 'not a torment; that it is death which cloſes all 'the calamities incident to human race; and that, 'beyond death no place remains, either for an-'guiſh or delight.

'But, in the name of the immortal gods, 'why didſt not thou add to this thy propoſal for

'capital puniſhment, that they ſhould be firſt 'laſhed by the executioner? Was it becauſe the 'ſame is forbidden by the Porcian law? And are 'not there other laws too, which direct, that 'Roman citizens, condemned, ſhall not be bereft 'of their lives, but be indulged the privilege 'of baniſhment? Or was it, that ſtripes ſeem a 'ſeverer puniſhment than death? Now what can 'be deemed rigorous, or over-ſevere, to men 'convicted of ſuch terrible treaſon? But if ſtripes 'be a lighter chaſtiſement, where is the conſiſtence 'of being tender of the law in a ſmaller inſtance, 'and of violating it in one much greater?

'Do you aſk, who will cenſure any puniſh-'ment whatever, pronounced upon traitors to 'the commonwealth? I anſwer, that time may 'produce ſuch cenſure; ſo may ſudden con-'junctures; ſo may fortune, a fickle deity, that 'blindly ſways the race of men. Upon theſe parri-'cides whatever doom falls, will fall juſtly. But 'be cautious, conſcript fathers, how your de-'crees to-day may affect others hereafter.

'All pernicious precedents are derived from 'laudable beginnings; but when the adminiſtra-'tion devolves upon unworthy and unſkilful 'men, thoſe precedents, at firſt juſt, are chang-'ed in the application, from objects that were 'proper and guilty, to ſuch as are guiltleſs and 'improper.

'The Lacaedemonians, when they had ſubdu-'ed the Athenians, ſubjected that ſtate to thirty 'governors. Theſe began their power by ex-'cuting, without conviction, whomſoever they

'found notoriouſly wicked and obnoxious to all 'men. For ſuch executions the people expreſſ-'ed great joy, and declared them juſt and well 'deſerved. Thenceforward, when, by degrees, 'they had ſtrengthened their lawleſs authority, 'they doomed to death both good and bad, with-'out diſtinction; and thus held under dread the 'whole community. Such was the terrible pe-'nalty, which theſe people, oppreſſed by tyranny, 'paid for their ridiculous joy.

'We ourſelves remember, when Sylla, after 'he found himſelf maſter, ordered Damaſippus, 'and other incendiaries, who had raiſed themſelves 'upon the calamities of the commonwealth, to 'be ſlaughtered, how all men applauded the fact: 'it was by all agreed, that ſuch inſtruments of 'iniquity and faction, the authors of continual 'diſorders and tumults in the ſtate, were worthi-'ly cut off from it: yet this very thing proved 'an introduction to a mighty ſeries of ſlaughter; 'ſince whoever coveted the town-houſe, or coun-'try-ſeat, or even any curious vaſe, or precious 'rayment of a fellow-citizen, contrived to have 'the poſſeſſor inſerted in the liſt of the proſcrib-'ed.

'Thus they, to whom the death of Damaſip-'pus had adminiſtered ſuch joy, were themſelves 'ſoon after dragged to the like execution: neither 'was there any end put to this raging carnage, till 'Sylla had ſatiated his followers with riches.

'It is true, that, from Marcus Tullius Cicero, I 'fear no ſuch precedents, nor from theſe our 'times. But in a city ſo mighty and ſo populous

'as ours, various and different are the ſpirits and 'propenſities of men: in future conjunctures, 'and under a future conſul, one who may like-'wiſe have an army at his devotion, any forge-'ries may paſs for facts. When, hereafter, by a 'decree of the ſenate, in conſequence of this ve-'ry example, the conſul ſhall draw the ſword, 'who is then to controul it? who to ſet bounds 'to its rage?

'Our anceſtors, conſcript fathers, were at no 'time wanting to themſelves, either in counſel 'or in bravery; neither did they deem it below 'them, to adopt the uſages of other nations, pro-'vided ſuch uſages were wholeſome and laudable. 'The exerciſe of arms, and their weapons of war, 'they borrowed from the Samnites; their enſigns 'of magiſtracy, in a great meaſure, from the 'Tuſcans: in truth, whatever appeared to them 'pertinent and valuable, either amongſt their 'confederates, or their enemies, they aſſumed 'and practiſed at home, with notable application; 'as they judged it more eligible to imitate, than 'to envy, any excellence any-where.

'In thoſe days, therefore, following the cuſtom 'of Greece, they ſubjected the offending citizens 'to ſtripes; and, upon ſuch as were condemned, 'inflicted capital puniſhment. Afterwards, when 'the commonwealth was found greatly augment-'ed, and, through the vaſt multitude of citizens, 'factions grew prevailing, whence the innocent 'were often circumvented and puniſhed, and ſuch 'oppreſſions and exceſſes began to grow common; 'then the Porcian and other laws were made;

'laws which, to the higheſt offence, allowed no 'higher puniſhment than exile.

'Theſe conſiderations, conſcript fathers, and 'ſuch authority, ſeem to me of the utmoſt force 'againſt our purſuing any reſolution new and ex-'traordinary. Surely, much greater virtue, 'much greater wiſdom, was found in ſuch, 'who, from ſmall means and beginnings, raiſed 'an empire ſo mighty, than in us, who with dif-'ficulty retain what they ſo worthily acquired.

'For what, therefore, do I plead? Is it, that 'the conſpirators be diſcharged, and the army of 'Catiline reinforced by them? By no means. 'But this is my propoſition; that their effects be 'confiſcated; their perſons be kept in bonds, a-'part in ſeveral of the moſt powerful cities of Ita-'ly; that no application ſhall ever be made to the 'ſenate on their behalf, nor to the people; and 'that whoever diſobeys this decree, the ſenate 'now declare him an enemy to the common-'wealth.'

When Caeſar had done ſpeaking, and the reſt of the ſenate were, either in words, or by ſigns, approving or oppoſing what had been differently propoſed, Cato was demanded his opinion, and he delivered it in the following ſpeech:

'My ſpirit feels very different impreſſions upon 'this occaſion, Conſcript Fathers: firſt, when I 'attend to our preſent ſituation, with the perils 'which ſurround us; and then conſider within 'myſelf the counſel offered by certain ſenators, 'they ſeem only to reaſon about ſettling the pu-'niſhment of ſuch, who are combined to make

'war upon their country, upon their parents and 'kindred, upon religion and private property; 'whereas our preſent ſituation warns us to have 'another point in view, and rather to concert 'means for ſecuring ourſelves from them, than 'what puniſhment ought to be inflicted upon 'them. For other enormities you may take ven-'geance after they are committed; but if you 'provide not againſt the perpetration of this, in 'vain, when once it is accompliſhed, will be your 'appeal to the tribunals. When the city is 'once taken, nothing further remains to the poor 'citizens.

'Now, by the immortal deities, I conjure and 'exhort you, you, who have had ever more at 'heart your houſes, your rerirements, your ſta-'tues, and your pictures, than the intereſt of the 'commonwealth; if you would preſerve theſe 'your enjoyments, which, whatever be their va-'lue, you thus cheriſh; if you would but enjoy 'your pleaſures in eaſe, and without interruption, 'rouſe yourſelf for once, and aſſume the pro-'tection of the commonwealth. This is no de-'bate about tribute and revenue; none about in-'juries done to our confederates. No: our 'common liberty, our very lives, are, at this 'inſtant, precarious.

'I have often, conſcript fathers, diſcourſed in 'this aſſembly; I have often bewailed the pre-'vailing luxury and rapaciouſneſs of our fellow-'citizens; and, for this cauſe, I bear the deſpight 'of many: but, as I never gratified myſelf in 'vice, nor ſuffered my ſoul to harbour it, neither

'could I humour the debauchery of others, by 'countenancing their exceſſes. Yet, however 'you ſlighted theſe my complaints, ſtill the com-'monwealth ſtood firm and ſecure: ſuch was her 'native potency, as to bear with the defects of 'her rulers. But the preſent conjuncture admits 'no debate about the pravity or amendment of 'our morals; none about the might or ſplendor 'of the Roman empire. The debate is, whether 'this our ſtate, whatever it be, continue our own, 'or, together with our perſons, become the prey 'of parricides.

'Will any one now interpoſe, and mention 'gentleneſs and commiſeration? Surely we have 'long loſt the genuine names of things. It is 'called Liberality, to be free of the property 'of others; Fortitude, to be daring in iniquity: 'ſuch is our degeneracy, and thence the deſpe-'rate ſituation of our commonwealth! Let them, 'if they will, ſince ſuch is the preſent mode, let 'them be liberal of the wealth taken from our 'confederates, merciful to the plunderers of the 'public treaſure: but let them not make a pre-'ſent of our blood; nor, out of their tenderneſs 'to a few parricides, conſign to deſtruction every 'worthy, every guiltleſs Roman.

'Caeſar has juſt now, in his place, reaſoned, 'with great elegance and accuracy, concerning 'life and death: nor, do I doubt but he holds 'for fables, all the received traditions about an 'infernal world; where the wicked, far apart 'from the virtuous, are confined to dreary and 'diſmal manſions, full of darkneſs and horror.

'From this principle his counſel is, That *their eſtates be confiſcated, and their perſons kept in bonds, apart, in the ſeveral great cities of Italy*; from an apprehenſion, I preſume, that, were they to be kept in Rome, they might be releaſed, either by the efforts of their fellow-traitors, or by the violence of the mercenary multitude: as if evil and profligate men were only to be found in this city, and not all over Italy; or, as if ſuch a deſperate attempt were not moſt likely to ſucceed, where there is leaſt force to oppoſe it.

'If, therefore, he really apprehend any peril from theſe criminals, his counſel is airy and unſolid: but if, under ſo much general terror poſſeſſing the hearts of men, he alone dreads nothing, ſo much the greater cauſe do I find of dread, both for myſelf, and for you.

'Be therefore aſſured, that your decree concerning Lentulus, and the other priſoners, will compriſe in it that of Catiline, and the whole body of conſpirators. The more vigour you ſhew, juſt ſo much the leſs ſpirit will animate them: but if they perceive you ever ſo little relenting, they are, to a man, ready to fall upon you with terrible confidence.

'Deceive not yourſelves with an opinion, that it was by arms our anceſtors raiſed this our ſtate, originally very ſmall, to ſuch might and grandeur. Were this the cauſe, we ſhould now poſſeſs it in its higheſt degree of luſtre and perfection; ſince we far ſurpaſs them, both in the number of confederates and citizens, as well as

'in horſes and arms. But it was from other 'ſources that their greatneſs aroſe; ſuch ſources 'as utterly fail us. They exerciſed induſtry and 'vigilence at home, with righteous government 'abroad: they had minds ſound and free in coun-'cil, and in judgment biaſſed by no guilt or 'crime, ſwayed by no evil paſſion.

'Inſtead of ſuch virtues as theſe, amongſt us, 'rapaciouſneſs and debauchery take place; great 'poverty in the ſtate, profuſe wealth in private fa-'milies: we admire riches, we are reſigned to 'ſloth, make no diſtinction between the virtuous 'and the wicked; and all the rewards of merit 'and worth are ingroſſed by ambition. Nor, 'whilſt, in all your public councils, each of you 'intends only himſelf ſeparately from the whole; 'whilſt, at home, you are inſlaved to your plea-'ſures, and, here in the ſenate, to ſordid intereſt, 'or partiality and favour, is the reſult at all 'ſtrange, that ſuch alarming attacks are made up-'on the commonwealth, when thus deſerted and 'forlorn? But I drop theſe conſiderations.

'Certain Romans, the moſt illuſtrious amongſt 'us, have conſpired to lay waſte their native coun-'try with fire and ſword, and engaged the Gauls, 'ever inveterate foes to the Roman name, to join 'in the conſpiracy. He who has the command 'of the enemy, is with his army, as it were, ho-'vering over our heads; and, even at this dread-'ful conjuncture, you linger and heſitate how to 'deal with ſuch of theſe unnatural rebels as you 'have ſeized within your walls.

'Would you ſhew them pity? Let it be ſo: they are young men, and have tranſgreſſed through ambition: nay, diſmiſs them too, and even diſmiſs them with their arms. What would follow? Even that this mildneſs of yours, this mercy towards them, whenever they were free and armed, would end in your perdition.

'Our ſituation, in truth, is threatening and direful: but you fear it not. Yes, you do fear it; fear it exceedingly; and it is only from impotence of ſpirit, and effeminacy, that you are thus in ſuſpence, every one looking and depending upon another.

'Perhaps you truſt for deliverance to the immortal gods, who have often preſerved this commonwealth from the higheſt dangers: but it is not by vows, nor by ſupplications, and devout wailings, like thoſe of women, that ſuccour is procured from the gods: it is by vigilance, by active meaſures, and provident counſel, that all difficulties are vanquiſhed, and all purſuits ſucceed: when once you have abandoned yourſelf to ſloth and indolence, in vain afterwards you will implore the gods; the gods will be provoked, and make you feel their wrath.

'In the days of our forefathers, Aulus Manlius Torquatus, in a war with the Gauls, doomed his own ſon to die, becauſe he had engaged with the enemy without orders; ſo that a young man of ſignal hopes died to attone for an exceſs of bravery. And do you doubt and linger about the doom of the moſt bloody of all parricides.

'Perhaps their preſent treaſon is unſuitable to 'the courſe of their lives paſt: well then; be ten- 'der of the great dignity of Lentulus, if you find 'that ever he was tender of the purity of his 'own perſon, or of his character and fame, or of 'what concerned the gods, or of what concerned 'men, in any one inſtance. Pardon alſo Cethe- 'gus, in pity to his youth, if this prove not the 'ſecond time of his making war againſt his native 'country. For why ſhould I at all mention Ga- 'binius, Statilius, and Caeparius? men who, 'had they poſſeſſed the leaſt grain of reflection or 'virtue, would never have harboured ſuch peſti- 'lent purpoſes againſt the commonwealth.

'To conclude, conſcript fathers, were it not, 'that an erroneous ſtep muſt, at this time, prove 'fatal, I ſhould readily leave you to be corrected 'by the conſequences, ſeeing you ſlight my rea- 'ſoning. But we are beſet and expoſed on every 'ſide. Catiline, at the head an army, advances 'through the paſſes to aſſail us: we have ene- 'mies within our walls, enemies in the very heart 'of Rome: no preparation which we make can 'be kept ſecret, nor any counſel which we take: 'hence the greater cauſe of vigour and diſpatch.

'This, therefore, is my counſel, that ſince, by 'a horrible combination of blood-thirſty citizens, 'the commonwealth has been reduced to the moſt 'imminent danger; and ſince they ſtand convicted, 'by the evidence of Titus Volturcius, and that 'of the Allobrogian deputies, as alſo by their 'own confeſſion, to have formed a conſpiracy, 'by ſlaughter and conflagration, and other dire-

'ful cruelties, to deſtroy their fellow-citizens,
'and native ſtate; they be treated like guilty cri-
'minals, condemned by their own mouth, and
'doomed to die, according to the primitive
'uſage.'

When Cato had ended his ſpeech, all thoſe of conſular rank, indeed, the greateſt part of the ſenate, aſſented to his opinion, with loud applauſe; exalting to the ſkies the virtue and firmneſs of his ſoul, and reproaching one another with timidity. Cato paſſed for a great and glorious patriot, and juſt as he propoſed, the ſenate decreed.

Now as I had learned much by reading, much by report, concerning the glorious actions of the Romans, in war and in peace, by ſea and by land, I was exceedingly curious to diſcover, by what principal cauſe ſuch ſtupendous events were accompliſhed. I knew, that with a handful of men, they have combated mighty hoſts: I was appriſed, that, with ſmall forces, they have maintained war againſt mighty monarchs; that they have often borne, and even braved, the ſtorms and traverſes of fortune; that, in eloquence, they were ſurpaſſed by the Greeks, in military renown by the Gauls.

So that, having canvaſed every cauſe, it appeared manifeſt to me, that only to the ſignal virtue of ſome particular Romans, all our ſuperiority was owing. It was thus that great wealth was vanquiſhed by poverty, great multitudes by a ſmall number. Even when Rome became depraved by voluptuouſneſs, and effeminacy, ſtill ſuch was the ſurpaſſing power of the commonwealth, that ſhe

was thence able to ſupport herſelf under all the faults and exceſſes of her magiſtrates and generals: even when, like a mother ſuperanuated, ſhe forbore, for long intervals, to produce any citizen of tranſcendent virtue. Two I myſelf remember, Cato and Caeſar; different indeed in their purſuits, but both of ſurpriſing abilities: and ſince it here fell naturally in my way, I would not omit diſplaying, according to my beſt ability, the temper and accompliſhments of each.

In their race, years, and eloquence, they were equal. Both poſſeſſed the ſame greatneſs of ſpirit; both enjoyed the ſame degree of glory, but in different ways: Caeſar was celebrated for his generoſity and munificence; Cato, for his unvaried integrity of life. The former gained renown by his complacency and acts of compaſſion; the latter heightened his dignity by an inflexible ſeverity. Caeſar derived fame from his readineſs to give, to relieve, and to pardon; as did Cato from his auſterity in beſtowing nothing. In one was found a ſure refuge to the wretched; in the other certain vengeance to the guilty. Caeſar was extolled for his flexibility: Cato for his firmneſs. Caeſar, in ſhort, had intirely turned himſelf to active life, to a habit of pains and care, night and day; was zealous to advance the intereſt of his friends, regardleſs of his own; and refuſed to grant nothing worthy to be granted. His own ardent aim was to command in chief, to lead armies, and to be engaged in new wars, thence to ſignalize his military virtue: whilſt the whole bent of Cato was to ſimplicity of life, to regular

conduct, and, above all, to invincible ſtrictneſs. He contended not in wealth with the wealthy, nor with the factious in practices of faction; but yielded not in bravery to the moſt undaunted; nor in temperance, to the moſt reſerved; nor in purity of morals, to the moſt upright; and aimed not ſo much to appear, as to be, a virtuous man: ſo that the leſs he courted renown, the faſter it followed him.

After the ſenate had, as I have related, concurred with the propoſition of Cato, the conſul judged it the ſecureſt way, to ſnatch the inſtant opportunity, without ſtaying for night, though it approached; leſt any time ſhould be given for new attempts. He, therefore, ordered the triumvirate of juſtice to accelerate all meaſures neceſſary for the execution; and, having poſted proper guards, conducted, in perſon, Lentulus to the priſon, as the praetors, by his orders, did the reſt.

In the priſon, after a ſmall deſcent towards the left, there is a place called the dungeon of Tullus, ſunk about twelve feet under ground, fortified round with ſtrong walls, above with an arch of ſtone; a ſad ſolitude, full of ſtench and darkneſs, loathſome and hideous to behold! As ſoon as Lentulus was thurſt down into this place, the executioners ſtrangled him, as they were ordered

Thus this noble patrician, he who ſprang from the Cornelian race, a race of the firſt eminence and luſtre, he who, as conſul, had borne the ſupreme magiſtracy of Rome, ſuffered a death worthy of his life and crimes. Upon Cethegus, Sta-

tilius, Gabinius and Caeparius, the ſame execution was done.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at room, Catiline formed two legions out of the whole forces, either brought by himſelf, or commanded before by Manlius: he filled the ſeveral cohorts in proportion to the number of his men; and, by diſtributing equally amongſt them all the volunteers, with all who were ſent him by the other conſpirators, he ſoon ſaw the complement of his legions full; though at firſt he had but two thouſand men. But of all theſe troops, about a fourth part only was completely armed. All the reſt were furniſhed as chance directed; ſome with ſticks, ſome with darts, others with ſharp ſtakes.

Now when Antonius advanced with his army, Catiline repaired to the mountains; and, whilſt he marched only amongſt them, moving ſometimes towards Rome, ſometimes toward Gaul, deprived his enemies of the means to attack him. He was, indeed, daily expecting powerful reinforcements, as ſoon as ever his aſſociates had perpetrated their deſigns at Rome. In the mean time he refuſed to enliſt the ſlaves, who, from the moment he had declared himſelf, crouded to him in great numbers; for he truſted to the great ſtrength of the conſpiracy, and conceived it, moreover, unſuitable to his drift and politics, ſhould he appear to have blended the cauſe of the free Romans with that of the fugitive ſlaves.

But, when tidings came to the camp, that the conſpiracy was diſcovered at Rome, and that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt, whom I have late-

ly mentioned, were executed there, he became preſently deſerted by the generality of thoſe, whom hopes of rapine, or paſſion for changes in the ſtate, had tempted to arms. With the remainder he retired by mighty marches, over ſteep mountains, into the territory of Piſtorium, with a view to eſcape by obſcure roads, into Ciſalpine Gaul.

Now, Quintus Metellus Celer, then commanding three legions in the territory of Picenum, judged, that Catiline, in his preſent ſtraits, would purſue theſe very meaſures. Hence, having learned from deſerters what courſe he took, he inſtantly decamped, and, advancing to the foot of the mountains, there pitched his camp; juſt where it behoved Catiline to paſs in his flight into Gaul. Neither was Antonius far behind the flying rebels, at the head of a great army, advancing after them through ways more open and level.

As to Catiline; when he perceived himſelf quite beſet, here with mountains, there with hoſtile armies; all his reſources at Rome deſtroyed; no hopes of eſcaping, none of refuge or ſuccour; he thought it his beſt courſe, in his preſent diſtreſs, to riſque the fortune of a battle, and determined forthwith to prepare for an encounter with Antonius. So that, aſſembling his forces, he ſpoke to them in the following ſtrain.

'I have found by experience, fellow-ſoldiers, 'that words increaſe not bravery; that a ſpiritleſs 'army is neither rendered hardy, nor a daſtardly 'army valiant, by a ſpeech from the commander. 'Whatever portion of courage any man poſſeſſes 'from nature or habit, juſt ſo much will he diſ-

'play in battle. Vain it is to exhort that man, 'whom neither glory nor danger can animate. 'The force of fear deprives him of his hearing. 'My motive for calling you together, fellow-ſoldiers, was to furniſh you with a few points of 'inſtruction; as alſo to communicate to you my 'laſt reſult, and the ground of it.

'You already know, what a terrible calamity 'Lentulus has brought at once upon himſelf and 'us, by his ſlowneſs and lifeleſs conduct: you 'know how, by waiting for ſuccours from Rome, 'I was prevented marching into Gaul. At preſent all of you ſee, as well as I, our ſad ſituation. Two armies of the enemies preſs us, and 'obſtruct our motions: one from Rome, another 'from Gaul. To abide any longer in our preſent ſituation, were it ever ſo much our choice, 'is utterly denied us, by our ſcarcity of proviſion, 'and of other neceſſaries; and whitherſoever you 'chuſe to remove, you muſt open yourſelves a 'paſſage with your ſwords.

'Hence I warn and conjure you to exert your 'courage, like men determined and undaunted; 'and to remember, when you engage, that in your 'hands you carry wealth, dignity, and glory, nay, 'your liberty, and your country. If we overcome, we ſhall aſcertain our own ſafety on every 'ſide; we ſhall have ſtore of proviſions; the municipal cities and colonies will be all open to receive us. But if we ſhrink, through fear, we 'ſhall in all theſe particulars ſee ourſelves utterly 'croſſed and diſtreſſed: nor will they, whom their

'arms could not defend, find defence from any 'ſtation, or any friend.

'You are, beſides, to remember, that you, my 'fellow-ſoldiers, and the oppoſite army, are by no 'means urged to engage by the ſame or equal mo- 'tives. Our native country, or common liberty, 'nay, our lives, are the prizes for which we com- 'bat. Their taſk is idle and unintereſting, whilſt 'they fight to ſupport the lordly dominion of a 'few. Let this rouſe you to attack them the 'more undauntedly, ſtill remembering your form- 'er valour and atchievements.

'We might, indeed, have paſſed our days, 'with infinite infamy, in baniſhment. Some of 'you might have ſtaid at Rome, reduced to beg- 'gary, and to be dependents upon the affluence 'of others. As ſuch wretched conditions of life 'appeared intolerable to brave men, you deter- 'mined to follow the preſent courſe. If you de- 'ſire to forſake this courſe, ſtill you muſt exert 'your courage undauntedly: in war, he only who 'conquers can change it for peace. In truth, to 'hope for ſafety from flight, is downright mad- 'neſs; for then you turn from the enemy thoſe 'very arms, which ſerve for a defence againſt 'them. During battle, he who is in moſt fear, is 'ever in moſt danger: courage ſerves for a wall 'of defence.

'When I conſider your characters, my fellow- 'ſoldiers, and recollect your paſt exploits, high 'are the hopes which I entertain of victory; en- 'couraged as I am by your reſolution, your age, 'your heroic virtue, and even by our common

'neceſſity; that neceſſity which makes cowards 'brave. The ſtreightneſs of our ſituation ſecures 'us from being encompaſſed by our enemies, how-'ever numerous. Should fortune deſert you, 'in envy to your bravery; be ſure not to loſe 'your lives, without ample vengeance upon your 'foes; nor ſuffer yourſelves to be taken and 'ſlaughtered like cattle: rather die fighting like 'men, and thus leave to the enemy a bloody and 'a mournful victory.'

When he had thus ſpoken, he pauſed a little; then gave orders to ſound to battle, and lead down his forces, in their proper ranks, into the level ground. Next, ſending away the horſes, thence the more to animate the whole by making the danger equal to all, he himſelf, on foot, formed his army ſuitable to the number of men, and the nature of the place: for, as on his left there ſtretched a plain, bounded by the mountains, and cloſe on his right ſtood a precipice of rocks. he ranged eight cohorts in his front. To ſupport them, he poſted the reſt of his troops in cloſer order. From theſe, in order to ſtrengthen his front, he diſpatched all the ſelect centurions, and reſumed veterans, and even all the common ſoldiers, who were braveſt and beſt armed. He ordered Caius Manlius to command the right, and a native of Faeſulae the left. He himſelf, at the head of his freedmen, and ſupplies from the colonies, kept cloſe to the eagle; one reported to be that of Caius Marius, when he commanded againſt the Cimbrians.

Caius Antonius, who commanded the oppo-

ſite forces, and was diſabled by the gout, from attending the combat, transferred the command to his lieutenant-general, Marcus Petreius. He, who had, upon this alarming conſpiracy, raiſed a number of veteran cohorts, ranged them in the front. The reſt of his troops he placed, as bodies of reſerve, behind them. He himſelf, riding round from rank to rank, and applying familiarly to the men by their particular names, preſſed, and prayed, and conjured them, 'to remember well a-'gainſt whom they were to engage; even againſt 'robbers ill armed; and in defence of their coun-'try, of their children, of their religion, and 'their property.' As he was himſelf an experienced officer, who, for more than thirty years, had ſerved in armies, whether as tribune, or occaſional commander, or lieutenant-general, or praetor, and in every ſtation, with exceeding high renown; and as he perſonally knew the generality of his men, and all their brave actions; whilſt he laid before them the rememberance of theſe, he ſet the ſpirits of the ſoldiers on fire.

Now Petreius, after all poſſible precautions taken, ſounded to battle, and ordered the cohorts to advance with a ſlow pace. So did the oppoſite army. But when they approached ſo near, that the ſoldiers, lightly armed, might have begun the onſet by flight of darts; at once, with a mighty ſhout, they furiouſly ruſhed into a cloſe encounter, threw aſide their javelins, and, with their ſwords only, diſputed the victory. The veterans, ever piqued, with their old bravery, preſſed the foe with great vigour: the latter failed not re-

ſolutely to withſtand them; and mighty and violent was the ſtruggle. Catiline, at the head of a band lightly armed, was all the while buſy in the foremoſt rank; he ſuccoured ſuch as were ſorely preſſed, ſupplied freſh men in the place of the wounded, provided for every exigence; every where met danger, every where aſſailed the foe, and at once performed the duty of a ſtout ſoldier, and an able general.

Petreius, when he perceived that Catiline preſſed on with terrible efforts, beyond what he imagined, advanced at the head of the praetorian cohort againſt the main body, forced their ranks, and put them to the ſword; as he did, next, others, who yet maintained their ground elſewhere. Such as remained he aſſailed at once on both flanks. Manlius, and the other commanders from Faeſulae, fell ſword in hand in the foremoſt rank. Catiline, beholding his forces routed, and himſelf left with a few about him, ſtill mindful of his illuſtrious birth, and priſtine dignity, ruſhing into the thickeſt of the enemy, there fell fighting, and covered with wounds.

It now chiefly appeared, upon ſurveying the field, when the battle was over, with what deſperate reſolution, with what invincible ſpirit, the whole army of Catiline was animated. For the body of every man was found to cover, when breathleſs, the ſame poſt, which, during the combat, he had occupied, and fought to defend; except the few who were driven from their ſtation by the praetorian cohort: and even theſe, though they fell a little out of their ranks, fell with their faces to the

foe. Catiline was indeed found, far from his own forces, amidſt the carcaſſes of the enemy, even ſtill breathing a little; nay, ſtill retaining in his face an air of the ſame ſtern and haughty ſpirit, which poſſeſſed him when alive.

Upon the whole, in all his army not one free Roman was taken priſoner, either during the combat, or in the rout. So equal a hand had they all ſhewn, in ſparing their own lives juſt as little as thoſe of their enemies. The victory, indeed, fell to the army of the commonwealth, but was accompanied with loſs and blood-ſhed enough to check their joy; ſince the braveſt amongſt them were either killed in the fight, or left it, grievouſly wounded. Nay, as there were many who viſited the field, whether for curioſity or ſpoil, and turned over the carcaſſes of the rebels, ſome diſcovered a friend, ſome a kinſman, others a gueſt; there were, too, ſuch as found their particular enemies: So that through the whole army was ſeen a various diſplay of contrary paſſions, gladneſs and ſorrow, mourning and rejoicing.

THE

WAR

AGAINST

JUGURTHA.

To the Right Honourable the

Earl of CHOLMONDELEY.

My Lord,

WHEN I have told the world, as I now do, that the whole of this work lay long under your eye and examination, you will pardon me, for leaving the world to preſume, that you did not diſapprove it. From the ſame motive, a motive, perhaps, ſelfiſh enough, I chearfully inſcribe to your lordſhip the following part of it, the famous Jugurthine war. It is thus that I am encouraged to preſent the whole to the public; and even frankly to leave all my readers to take, what all my readers will take, the liberty of judging for themſelves, in ſpite of all that I, or, even all that your lordſhip, can ſay, in defence of your judgment againſt theirs. One thing I preſume confidently to

hope, that moſt of my readers will like it the better, for being informed, that your lordſhip did not diſlike it. You will do me the juſtice to own, that where-ever you propoſed any alterations, I was always ready to make them: had you propoſed many more, I fanſy both my readers and I ſhould have found our account in it.

If I do an injudicious thing, in thus directing the thanks of the reader, where he finds cauſe for any, not to myſelf, but to your lordſhip; by doing it, I ſtill reap one advantage; I think, a ſuperior advantage; that my writings will appear to all my readers to ſtand well in your opinion; at leaſt, that I myſelf do. What writer could deſire a better patent for general approbation? Perhaps ſome of my readers may think, that I am now pleading for that patent. I own I am; and claim the benefit of it.

Fine diſcernment, and juſt taſte, great vivacity, much reading, great acquaintance with buſineſs, and with men, all joined to natural candour, are the great qualifications for judging of books and ſtyle; and ſuch writings as pleaſe a judge ſo qualified, come

before the public with a competent recommendation; and claim a right to pleaſe all ſuch readers as are equally qualified to judge, and equally diſpoſed to be pleaſed. Let me add, that he who is the quickeſt at diſcerning faults, is often the leaſt forward to expoſe them; and they who are moſt forward, are not always the moſt ſagacious. Which of theſe two characters is moſt to be deſired by a reader, I leave every reader to determine; and, for his further inducement, as well as encouragement, refer him to that of your lordſhip.

I knew a man, who, at the age of forty, was learning Greek, on purpoſe to tranſlate Thucydides; becauſe he knew, without knowing Greek, that Mr. Hobbs had not tranſlated that Greek author well. It is probable, that the perſon who told him ſo, if he were in earneſt, knew as little as himſelf, either of Thucydides, or of Mr. Hobbs, who has moſt excellently tranſlated that celebrated hiſtorian; though his language, in that tranſlation, be not ſo free as in his other writings; a fault (if it be one) intirely owing to

his adhering to the manner, as well as the ſenſe of the original.

Your lordſhip knows, that there is nothing ſo abſurd, nothing ſo ſpiteful and ſtupid, as the cenſure frequently paſſed upon writings. The groſſeſt ignorance often ſets up for cenſure; the fouleſt language often pronounces it: yet ſuch groſſneſs, and ſuch ſtupidity, are not more offenſive than falſe delicacy, and a mind wrongly turned; nor are they half ſo ridiculous. A late celebrated and gentle doctor of Greſham uſed to give it as his opinion of archbiſhop Tillotſon, and Mr. Dryden, (both very excellent writers of Engliſh, beſides their other merit) 'That, indeed, 'they were *able*, but not *delicate* writers:' and then, to explain himſelf, added, 'That 'they had ſtrength, but wanted *ſaſtneſs*.' As if ſtrength excluded elegance, or elegance availed any thing without ſtrength.

My lord, I venture to aſſert, what your lordſhip can ſo well demonſtrate, that ſprightlineſs of expreſſion is beauty of expreſſion. Eaſe and force are ſo far from hurting, that they help and recommend each other; and have the leaſt influence when apart. So juſt, ſo

natural, and neceſſary it is, to join vigour to eloquence, and eloquence to vigour! A harſh ſtyle is unpleaſing and tireſome: a ſmooth ſtyle, without life, is nauſeous.

How many volumes lie cheap and undiſturbed in ſtalls, without one blemiſh in them, either in fluency or grammar! The laſt qualification, particularly, is the great boaſt, and conſtant refuge, of dull men and pedants; though often wanting in the nobleſt writers, lord Clarendon, Mr. Locke, Mr. Trenchard, and many other great men, ſubject to inaccuracies in grammar and even in ſpelling; as I have often found in their manuſcripts, ſome of them ſtill to be ſeen.

Your lordſhip is perfectly acquainted, how much the ſame obſervation holds in public ſpeeches; ſome very ſtrong, as well as very elegant, without being very correct; many very elegant, and very correct, but without force, and without uſe.

The great difficulty in imitating Horace and Tacitus, ſeems to ariſe from the rapidity of their thoughts and expreſſion, as well as from their curious choice of phraſes. For theſe two, amongſt the ſeveral Latin claſſics,

appear, to me, to have the moſt glowing ſtyle. There is great force in that of Salluſt; but, I think, a force not equal to theirs. There is a great deal of it in Pliny the elder. It is the great talent of Demoſthenes: and by it he fired and governed his hearers. In it no writer, antient or modern, no poet, no orator, ever exceeded Shakeſpear or Milton. There are admirable ſtrains in Otway and Row. Fontenelle is full of lively and ſtriking images; and no man more ſo, than Savil marquis of Halifax. Mr. Trenchard excels in ſtrong thoughts, and ardent expreſſion: and biſhop Atterbury's ſtyle hath great elevation and fire.

It may here, perhaps, look invidious, either to mention, or to omit, Mr. Addiſon, ſo juſtly admired for his beautiful imagination, and polite expreſſion; and for his works, ſo univerſally read, ſo deſervedly applauded, many of them inimitable: a glorious character, and abundant merit! though, in tragedy, and ſome other ſubjects, his ſtyle ſhould not be found ſo powerful as that of ſome few others. Whether it be ſo, or not, your lordſhip can tell.

By ſaying ſo much of ſo many writers, I had, indeed, almoſt forgot, that I am writing to your lordſhip, who have read ſo many, and judge ſo juſtly of all. Permit me, however, to add, for the ſake of my leſs obſerving readers, that, to recommend dignity by eaſe, eaſe by dignity, both by force, is the great perfection of ſpeaking and writing. I could give inſtances of each ſort; but, in doing it, I ſhould be tempted to produce one, which, I fear, your lordſhip would not like to ſee produced, however others may like it, and may even expect it. To withdraw myſelf, therefore, from the pleaſing temptation, I here ceaſe to write. I ſhall never ceaſe to be, with high and ſincere regard,

MY LORD,

Your moſt Humble,

Auguſt 30*th*, 1743.

and moſt obedient Servant,

T. GORDON.

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THE WAR AGAINST JUGURTHA.

IT is unjuſt in men to complain of human nature, as if it were frail, fleeting, and rather actuated by chance, than by virtue. For, by different reaſoning, you will find nothing more noble, nothing more perfect; and that men fail more in exerting their talents, than doth human nature in her continuance and power.

The ſoul alone forms and controuls the lot of human life; and, where it travels to renown by the paths of virtue, is always found ſufficient, prevailing, and even rewarded with glory, and far from needing the aid of fortune; ſince integrity of life, aſſiduity, and addreſs, with other worthy accompliſhments, are out of her reach, either to beſtow or take away. But when the ſoul is depraved by vicious paſſions, and, reſigning itſelf to effeminacy, and ſenſual delights, plunges into a fatal courſe of debauchery, and has thus

waſted, in ſloth, all its vigour, time, and parts, the frailty of nature is blamed. For it is the cuſtom of men, to impute all the evils of their own earning to occurrences, and the courſe of things.

Now if men would engage in righteous purſuits, with the ſame zeal which they exert in ſuch as are unintereſting, unavailing, nay, ſuch as portend their ruin, they would be no more ſubject to be ruled by fortune, than fortune to be ruled by them; nay, they would then ſoar to ſuch elevation, as, from a condition of mortality, to become, through glory, immortal.

Indeed, as man is framed of a body and a ſoul, it follows, that all our actions, all our purſuits, participate of one or the other. Hence beauty of perſon, abundant wealth, with bodily ſtrength, and every endowment of the ſame ſort, ſoon paſs away; whilſt all illuſtrious productions of the human ſoul are, like the ſoul itſelf, eternal. I add, that the advantages of the body, and of fortune, as they had certainly a beginning, have as certain an end: indeed, whatever hath a riſe, hath likewiſe a fall; and whatever hath the faculty of increaſing, contains alſo the principles of decay. The ſoul, ever immortal, nor ever ſubject to periſh, is the controuler of human kind; actuates and compriſes all things; yet is itſelf compriſed by nothing. Hence the greater cauſe of wonder at the frowardneſs of ſuch who waſte their life in luxury and ſloth, abandoned to ſenſual joys; and ſuffer their reaſon, the moſt ſublime and god-like faculty cleaving to mortal men, to deaden in indolence, neglected and unimproved; eſpecially,

ſince the mind is capable of ſo many, and ſuch various accompliſhments, whence the higheſt fame is to be obtained.

But, by ſuch purſuits, I mean not magiſtracy, or public ſway, or, in a word, any ſhare in the government of the ſtate; ſtations which ſeem to me, at this conjuncture, far from eligible: ſince neither do our preferments follow virtue, nor are they who have gained them by baſe means, the more ſecure, or more honourable, for profeſſing them. Indeed, to rule over your country, or your parents and kindred, againſt their inclination, however you may ſucceed, and though you could even reform abuſes, is an invidious ſituation, and full of danger; eſpecially, when all public innovations ever threaten public ſlaughter, exile, and every hoſtile calamity. Beſides, to ſtruggle for power without ſucceſs, and to reap, by continual fatigue, nothing but public abhorrence, is infatuation beyond meaſure; unleſs we ſuppoſe any man poſſeſſed with a ſpirit ſo infamous and frantic, as to ſacrifice his honour, and his liberty, only to gratifiy the impotent luſt of a few to govern all.

Now, amongſt other functions which employ the talents of men, the regiſtry of things is of high moment; though I forbear to enlarge upon its excellency, ſince many have already ſhewn it; nor would I be thought vain, in extolling an employment in which I myſelf am engaged. I, however, expect, that there will be ſome, who, becauſe I have determined to ſpend my days far from any ſhare in the adminiſtration, will call this my under-

taking, in itſelf ſo great and important, a lazy vocation: It will be, at leaſt, ſo called by thoſe who account it the higheſt taſk in life, to ſalute the multitude by their particular names; and, court, by feaſting them, their favour. But if theſe men will recollect, firſt, during what conjunctures I obtained promotion in the ſtate; next, what great men then failed in the purſuit of it; then, what ſort of men have been ſince admitted into the ſenate; they will ſurely conclude, that it was upon juſt ground, and from no want of ſpirit, that I changed my deſign; and that higher benefit will accrue to the commonwealth from my receſs, than from all the popular efforts and caballings of others.

For I have often heard, that Quintus Maximus, and Publius Scipio, with other illuſtrious chiefs of our ſtate, were wont to declare, that, when they beheld the images of their progenitors, they found their minds paſſionately fired to acts of virtue and renown. Not that the war, or any figure formed of it, could produce ſuch powerful emotions: it was only the recollection of the famous exploits done by their forefathers, which rouſed, in the breaſts of theſe excellent perſons, ſuch ardour as they could never ſubdue or extinguiſh, till, by virtuous deeds, they had gained equal applauſe and immortality.

A different character belongs to the preſent race. Amongſt them all, who is found otherwiſe to vie with his anceſtors, than in wealth and profuſion? but never in acts of probity and praiſe. Even men, originally obſcure, ſuch as formerly uſed,

by ſuperior merit, to anticipate nobility, at preſent graſp at public dignities and command, rather by dark devices, and by money lawleſly got, than by any fair recommendations: as if the conſular authority, that of praetor, and all the other great offices, did, of themſelves, convey glory, and great name, and derived not their eſtimation from the ability of ſuch as adminiſter them. But, whilſt I am reviewing, with regret and ſhame, the depraved habits of my country, I have rambled too far, and too freely. I now return to my undertaking.

I am going to give the hiſtory of a war, which the Roman people maintained againſt Jugurtha, king of the Numidians: a ſubject which I chuſe, becauſe, in the firſt place, it was in itſelf raging and tragical, and the victory long wavering; next, becauſe the haughty ſway of the nobility was then firſt checked: a ſtruggle which produced unverſal confuſion of all things, divine and human; with ſuch party-rage as ended in a domeſtic war, and the deſolation of Italy. But, before I enter directly upon my taſk, I ſhall go ſomewhat backwards, and trace certain events; whence all that follows will derive clearneſs, and additional light.

During the ſecond Punic war, in which Hannibal, commander of the Carthaginians, waſted the ſtrength of Italy, beyond what had been known, ſince the Roman power had become formidable, Scipio, afterwards for his noble atchievements, ſurnamed Africanus, received Maſiniſſa, king of the Numidians, into the friendſhip and alliance of the

Romans; a prince who performed, on their behalf, many glorious exploits; for which, when Carthage was ſubdued, and Syphax taken priſoner, whoſe dominions in Africa were vaſt, and his ſway mighty, whatever cities and territories of his had been taken by Maſiniſſa, were confirmed to him, by the Roman people, as their gift: inſomuch that our alliance with him always continued very honourable on his part, and very beneficial on ours. When death put an end to his reign, his ſon Micipſa ſucceeded him; at that time his only ſon, as his other two Manaſtabal, and Guluſſa, had been carried off by diſtempers. Micipſa had two ſons, Atherbal and Heimpſal; but entertained in his court, and bred up, upon the ſame foot with his own, a ſon of his brother Manaſtabal, called Jugurtha; one whom Maſiniſſa had left in a private condition; for that he was born of a concubine.

This Jugurtha, when he grew up, with all the advantages of a graceful perſon, great ſtrength, and, above all, a ſuperior genius, ſuffered not himſelf to be impaired by the baits of indolence and luxury; but following the bent of the nation, enured himſelf to ride, to draw the bow, to vie with his companions in the race; yet ſtill continued dear to all, though, in glory, he ſurpaſſed all. Add, that he was aſſiduous in the chace, always foremoſt, or with the foremoſt, in wounding the lion, and other wild beaſts; and continually performing deeds of praiſe; but never boaſting of ſuch deeds.

Though Micipſa, at firſt, rejoiced in all this,

from an opinion, that the merit of Jugurtha would prove to the glory of his reign; yet, when he beheld him, in the prime of life, improving daily more and more, himſelf now ſtricken in years, together with the tender age of his children, he was terribly alarmed, and his mind torn with many perplexities. He conſidered, with dread, the mind of man, ever thirſting after power, and headſtrong in the gratification of ambition; as alſo the temptation ariſing from his own age, and from the tender years of his children: a mighty temptation! ſuch as even tranſports men otherwiſe moderate and calm: beſides the flaming zeal of the Numidians towards Jugurtha; whence, were he, by artifice, to take away his life, he feared, leſt an inſurrection, or even a civil war, might enſue.

Whilſt he was thus preſſed with difficulties on every ſide, perceiving himſelf unable, either by force or guile, to deſtroy a man ſo dear to his people, he propoſed to expoſe him to the hazards of war, and thence to try what fortune would produce; ſince Jugurtha was daring in his perſon, and paſſionate for military glory. Micipſa, therefore, who was diſpatching ſuccours of horſe and foot to the Romans, then engaged in the ſiege of Numantia, ſent him, as their commander, over to Spain; in hopes, that, either from an oſtentation of his bravery, or the rage of that deſperate enemy, he could not fail to periſh. But the iſſue wholly contradicted his conjecture: for Jugurtha, who had a genius full of vivacity and diſcernment, as ſoon as he had learned the temper of Publius Sci-

pio, general of the Romans, as alſo the character of the enemy, exerted ſuch infinite vigour, with ſuch infinite attention and care, added to his extreme modeſty in obeying orders, and his readineſs to face all dangers; and thence acquired, on a ſudden, ſuch high eſteem; that he was adored by our army, and an object of dread to the Numantians. He was, doubtleſs, at once brave in battle, and ſage in council; qualities extremely hard to be found in the ſame man; ſince precaution uſually falls into timidity, and boldneſs into raſhneſs.

Hence the Roman general employed Jugurtha to execute all his moſt perilous attempts, held him amongſt his intimate friends, and cheriſhed him daily more and more, as one who, in all his projects, in all his undertakings, never failed of ſucceſs. With theſe advantages there concurred great liberality of heart, and a ſpirit very able and artful: whence he had gained a great number of Romans to a cloſe friendſhip with him. There were, indeed, then in our army, many, ſome of them amonſt the old nobility, others perſons newly raiſed) with whom wealth was preferable to virtue and honour; all of factious behaviour, very powerful at Rome, and more diſtinguiſhed by their figure, than by their integrity, amongſt our confederates. Theſe men inflamed the mind of Jugurtha, (of itſelf nowiſe indifferent to power) by ſtrong aſſurances, 'That, were Micipſa to die, he alone would 'enjoy the kingdom of Numidia; it was he who 'poſſeſſed the higheſt worth; and, at Rome, all 'things whatever were to be obtained by money.'

Now, after the ſacking of Numantia, when Scipio determined to ſend back the auxiliary troops, and to return himſelf to Italy, he diſtinguiſhed Jugurtha with magnificent preſents, and equal compliments, before the whole army aſſembled; then led him into his own pavilion, and there, ſecretly, warned him, 'Rather publicly to court the favour 'of the Roman people, than by private applicati-'on to particular Romans. It were, therefore, 'beſt, to forbear humouring ſuch men by his 'bounties. It was a perilous attempt, to pur-'chaſe from a few what appertained to all. If he 'would but perſiſt in the exerciſe of his own fine 'accompliſhments, both glory and royalty would 'fall, of courſe, to his ſhare; whereas, if he un-'duly hurried to graſp them, his very largeſſes 'would puſh him headlong into deſtruction.'

When Scipio had ſo ſpoken, he diſmiſſed him with a letter to Micipſa, in the following ſtrain: 'Thy nephew Jugurtha hath manifeſted the high-'eſt merit, during the ſiege of Numantia; an in-'formation which, I am well aware, will yield thee 'much joy. To me he is very dear, for his ſig-'nal ſervices: I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours that 'he be ſo, likewiſe, to the ſenate and people of 'Rome. In truth, I congratulate with thee on 'this occaſion, according to the meaſure of my 'friendſhip for thee. In him thou poſſeſſeſt a 'man worthy of thee, as alſo of his grand-father 'Maſiniſſa.'

The king, therefore, when he found the contents of Scipio's letter to agree with all that he had learned from common fame, was ſo affected with

the great merit, as well as with the great credit, of the man, that he dropped all his former purpoſes towards him; and, henceforward, ſtrove to ſecure him by the force of favours: He even ſtrait adopted him; and, by his will, appointed him joint-heir, with his ſons, to the kingdom. A few years afterwards, when, waſted with age and diſtempers, he perceived his life near its cloſe, he is ſaid to have diſcourſed to Jugurtha, in the preſence of his kindred and friends, as likewiſe of Atherbal and Hiempſal, to this purpoſe:

'When thou wert yet a tender infant, bereft 'of thy father, without hope, deſtitute of means, 'I took thee, as my own, under my care, and 'brought thee up in royal ſtate; as I conceived, 'that, in return for ſuch benefits, I ſhould prove 'equally dear to thee, as if I were thy own father. 'Neither haſt thou fruſtrated theſe my hopes: 'for, without recounting thy other exploits, 'which are many and memorable, thou haſt lately brought with thee, from Numantia, ſuch a'bundant glory, as derives honour upon me, and 'even upon all Numidia. By thy brave conduct 'thou haſt made the Romans, before our allies 'by treaty, now our allies in affection. Thou 'haſt reſtored in Spain the former renown of our 'family there. To ſay all (what is the moſt ar'duous taſk amongſt the ſons of men) by the luſtre of thy merit thou haſt even vanquiſhed en'vy. In the mean time, ſince the courſe of na'ture is putting a period to my life, I requeſt, I 'adjure thee, by this right-hand, which I here 'preſent thee, and by the inviolable faith of a

‘ prince, to ſhew tenderneſs to theſe my ſons, by
‘ blood thy near kinſmen; by my favour in adopt-
‘ ing thee, thy brethren; nor to beſtow thy af-
‘ fections upon ſtrangers, preferable to thoſe who
‘ are united to thee by blood.

‘ Monarchs are ſuſtained, not by armies, nor
‘ by treaſures, but by the aſſiſtance of friends cor-
‘ dially attached to the monarch; friends whom
‘ you cannot acquire by the force of arms, or of
‘ gold: they are, indeed, only produced by a
‘ courſe of kindneſs and fidelity. Now, upon
‘ whom can the tie of friendſhip be ſtronger, than
‘ upon one brother to another? Or what ſtranger
‘ can be found faithful to one, who proves an e-
‘ nemy to his own blood? I, in truth, bequeath
‘ you a kingdom, well-eſtabliſhed and ſtrong, if
‘ you prove virtuous and agree together; but
‘ weak and tottering, if you act unworthily, and
‘ differ. For ſmall communities increaſe by coa-
‘ lition; the mightieſt periſh by diſunion.

‘ It is, however, more incumbent upon thee,
‘ Jugurtha, than upon theſe thy brethren, ſeeing
‘ thou ſurpaſſeſt them in years, and in wiſdom, ſo
‘ to concert meaſures, that no ſuch diſſention hap-
‘ pen: For, in all quarrels whatever, the ſtrong-
‘ eſt, even where he has ſuffered wrong, is ſtill
‘ reckoned to have done it, merely becauſe he is
‘ moſt able. Now, for your parts, Atherbal and
‘ Hiempſal, mark well, and reverence, this extra-
‘ ordinary perſon: imitate his brave character;
‘ and be it your conſtant endeavour, to avoid the
‘ reproach that will follow you, if I ſhould ap-

'pear to the world to be more happy in adopting 'ſons, than in begetting them.'

To all this, Jugurtha, acting a part ſuitable to the occaſion, replied with profeſſions full of duty; though he was appriſed, that thoſe of the king were all feigned; and he himſelf had conceived purpoſes widely different from his words. In a few days after, Micipſa died; and the princes, having celebrated his funeral with great magnificence, ſuitable to the royal mode there, had an interview to regulate all public affairs.

There Hiempſal, the youngeſt of the three, of a ſpirit naturally violent, and before accuſtomed to manifeſt his ſcorn of Jugurtha's mean birth by his mother, ſeated himſelf on the right ſide of Atherbal, to hinder Jugurtha from ſitting between them; a place eſteemed the moſt honourable amongſt the Numidians: nay, it was with great difficulty that he removed to the further ſide, in compliance with his brother's preſſing repreſentations, that he ſhould yield to ſuperior age. Then, as they fell into various reaſonings about the direction of the ſtate, Jugurtha, among other overtures, made one, to reſcind all the public acts and regulations of Micipſa for five years backwards; for that, during all that ſpace, he was under dotage, and his faculties utterly impaired. To this Hiempſal immediately anſwered, 'That he was entirely of 'the ſame ſentiments; ſince it was but within 'theſe three years, that Micipſa had, by adoption, 'intitled Jugurtha to a partnerſhip in the ſove-'reignty.

This expreſſion ſunk deeper into the breaſt of Jugurtha, than any then apprehended: ſo that, from thenceforward, as he was under the conſtant agitation of rage and fear, he was continually ſtudying the deſtruction of Hiempſal, and employing all his thoughts, by what deadly ſnares to effect it. But, as inſidious methods were found to operate ſlowly, and as his implacable ſpirit felt no remiſſion, he determined to execute his purpoſe by any means whatſoever. The princes, at their firſt meeting, which I have juſt mentioned, agreed, as a remedy againſt mutual conqueſts, to divide the public treaſure; and to aſcertain to each, by fixed limits, his portion of empire: inſomuch that, for executing both theſe deſigns, certain times were ſettled; but the diſtribution of the treaſure was to take place firſt.

In the mean time, the princes retired ſeverally to certain towns neareſt to that where the royal treaſure lay: Hiempſal particularly, to Thirmida, where he happened to lodge in the houſe of one who was principal mace-bearer to Jugurtha; nay, one who had ever been far in his confidence and favour. Jugurtha, therefore, finding this man perſented to him by chance as a proper inſtrument, loaded him with mighty promiſes, and, by force of preſuaſion, engaged him to repair thither, feigning only to ſee his houſe, and then procure counterfeit keys to the gates; for the keys were conſtantly carried to Hiempſal. He concluded, that, whenever matters were ripe, he would come himſelf, accompanied with a powerful band.

The Numidian ſoon fulfilled his orders; and, agreeable to the ſcheme, introduced the ſoldiers of Jugurtha by night. They, the moment they had poſſeſſion of the houſe, ran in parties to ſearch for the prince; ſlew all whom they found aſleep, with all ſuch as they met; examined every obſcure place, forced open all that were faſt, and filled the whole with uproar and affright. Hiempſal, the while, was diſcovered, lurking in a loft belonging to a ſervant-maid; whither he had fled upon the firſt tumult, full of dread, and unaquainted with the place. The Numidians carried his head to Jugurtha, according to their orders from him.

The news of a murder ſo enormous inſtantly flew over all Africa. Terror ſeized Atherbal, with all who had lived under the ſovereignty of Micipſa: the Numidians formed two parties; the greater number adhered to Atherbal, but all the beſt ſoldiers to his rival. The latter, therefore, raiſed an army as numerous as poſſible, ſubdued ſeveral cities, ſome by force, others by conſent, and puſhed for the intire monarchy of Numidia. Atherbal, though he had diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to appriſe the ſenate of the murder of his brother, and of his own diſtreſſed ſituation; yet, confiding in the number of his men, would riſque a battle: but upon the firſt encounter, he was routed; and fled for ſhelter to our province, and from thence proceeded to Rome.

When Jugurtha had thus accompliſhed his views, and was maſter of all Numidia, as ſoon as he paused, and reviewed his miſdeeds, he began to dread

the wrath of the Roman people: neither conceived he any hope againſt their vengeance, but in the avarice of the nobility, and his own treaſure. He, therefore, in a few days, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, with great ſums of money. To them his orders were, firſt, by ample preſents, to ſecure his former friends; then, to engage new: in a word, to ſpare no coſt to purchaſe whoever could be purchaſed.

Now, when the ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, and, in purſuance of the king's orders, had conveyed mighty preſents to ſuch with whom he had lived in intimacy and hoſpitality; as alſo to others who then bore chief ſway in the ſenate; ſo vaſt a change enſued there, that Jugurtha, lately an object of abhorrence, was ſuddenly grown into ſpecial favour and regard amongſt the nobility; inſomuch that many of theſe, ſome gained by bribes, others in hopes to be bribed, applying to every ſenator apart, laboured to prevent any rigorous reſolutions againſt him. Then, when the ambaſſadors were ſufficiently ſecure of their cauſe, a day was aſſigned for the ſenate to hear both parties. It is related, that before them, Atherbal ſpoke in this manner:

'Conſcript fathers, it was my father's orders 'to me, in his laſt moments, that I ſhould con'ſider myſelf as veſted only with the adminiſtrati'on of Numidia, ſince the title and ſovereignty 'were, indeed, yours. He added, that I ſhould 'endeavour to render all poſſible aid to the Ro'man people, whether in peace, or in war; 'ſhould eſteem you as my kindred, conſider you

'as ſupplying the place of relations and affiances. 'If I obſerved theſe conditions, he ſaid, that, in 'your friendſhip, I ſhould find armies and wealth, 'with every ſtay and ſupport to monarchy. 'Whilſt I was ſetting myſelf ſtrictly to perform 'theſe injunctions of my father, Jugurtha, a man, 'of all that the earth bears, the moſt barbarous 'and ſanguinary, deſpoiled me of my kingdom, 'with whatever elſe I poſſeſſed, in utter defiance 'of your authority, nor regarded, that I am the 'grandſon of Maſiniſſa, and, from my birth, a 'friend and confederate of the Roman people.

'The truth is, conſcript fathers, ſeeing I was 'to fall to this degree of wretchedneſs, I earneſtly 'wiſh I could have ſought your aid, rather on ac- 'count of my own merits, than thoſe of my fore- 'fathers; eſpecially, that I could have merited 'ſuch aid from the Roman people, without want- 'ing it, or, at worſt, have received it as my due. 'But, ſince innocence proves rarely its own de- 'fence, and as it lay not in my breaſt to direct the 'heart of Jugurtha, to you, conſcript fathers, I 'have fled for refuge.

'What is my ſevereſt miſery, I am conſtrained 'to be burdenſome to you, without ever having been 'ſerviceable. Other kings, your confederates, 'have been either ſubdued by your arms, and 'then received into your alliance, or, urged by 'perils at home, have implored your friendſhip. 'Our family commenced allies to the Roman peo- 'ple during the war with Carthage; a period, 'when the Roman honour was more to be court- 'ed, than the Roman fortune.

'Conſider me, O conſcript fathers, as ſprung
'from that family; nor ſuffer the grandſon of
'Maſiniſſa to apply in vain for ſuccour from you.
'If, in order to obtain it, I had no argument to
'urge, beſides my deplorable fortune, that I, ve-
'ry lately a king, redoubtable in my de-
'cent, in my wealth, and in royal renown, am
'now covered with variety of wretchedneſs,
'beggarly, forlorn, and waiting for aſſiſtance from
'others; it ſtill became the majeſty of the Ro-
'man people, to curb oppreſſion, and to ſuffer
'no man to extend his dominion by iniquity and
'violence. Conſider me in yet a ſtronger light,
'driven out of the very poſſeſſions, which the
'Roman people conferred, as their gift, upon
'my anceſtors; thoſe very poſſeſſions, from whence
'my father, and his father, joining their forces
'to yours, expulſed Syphax and the Carthagini-
'ans. They are the effects of your bounty,
'that are rent from me, conſcript fathers: in my
'ſufferings you are inſulted.

'Alas! my deplorable fate! Is this the return
'to thy generoſity and favour, O my father! that
'Jugurtha, he, whom thou didſt place upon the
'ſame foot with thy own children; he, whom
'thou didſt leave equal partner with them in thy
'kingdom, is, of all others, the bloody inſtru-
'ment to extinguiſh thy race for ever? ſhall our
'houſe never enjoy tranquillity and reſt? ſhall
'we be for ever viſited with a bloody lot; with
'the murdering ſword, with flight and expulſion.

'Whilſt the power of Carthage ſubſiſted, we 'were of courſe expoſed to hoſtility and violence. 'The enemy was at our doors; you, our friends, 'were far from us; our whole reliance upon our 'arms. After Africa was reſcued from that peſ- 'tilent tyranny, we carefully enjoyed a ſtate of 'peace: for, indeed, we had no enemies, though 'ſtill diſpoſed to treat as ſuch, whomſoever you 'ſhould command us; when, on a ſudden, Ju- 'gurtha, hardening his heart to cruelty, and glo- 'rying in pride and butchery, murders my bro- 'ther, who was alſo his near kinſman, and ſeizes 'his principality, as the prize of the murderer. 'Then, ſeeing he could not circumvent me by 'the ſame bloody ſnares, he attacked me openly, 'whilſt I, confiding in your ſupreme power, ap- 'prehended any thing, rather than violence and 'war; drove me from my houſhold, and my 'country; reduced me to be an exile, and a 'wanderer; ſuch as you behold me, deſtitute of 'all comfort, and ſo overwhelmed with every 'ſpecies of wretchedneſs, as to find more ſafety 'any-where, than in my own dominions.

'My own judgment was, conſcript fathers, 'what I have often heard my father declare, that 'whoever applied themſelves with zeal to merit 'your amity, undertook, indeed, a heavy taſk, 'but, by it, rendered themſelves ſecure, beyond 'all others. Whatever lay in the power of our 'family to do for you, we have done, ſo as al- 'ways to aſſiſt you in all your wars. It is in 'your power, conſcript fathers, to ſettle our fa-

'family in a ſtate of ſecurity. Our father left behind 'him us two brothers, and, adopting Jugurtha 'for a third, thought to engage him to us invio-'lably by ſuch high acts of favour. One of the 'two he has already butchered: I, who remain, 'have, with difficulty, eſcaped his accurſed 'hands.

'What ſhall I do? or whither, thus forlorn, 'had I beſt have recourſe? I am deprived of all 'ſuccour and defence from thoſe of my lineage. 'Old age has ſubjected my father to the lot of 'nature: Jugurtha, againſt every tie of duty and 'nature, has traiterouſly ſhed the blood of my 'brother. The reſt of my kindred, my friends, 'and the allies of my houſe, he has cauſed, where-'ever he took them, to periſh by various dooms, 'all very tragical; ſome nailed to the croſs, ſome 'thrown to ſavage beaſts. Such of them, as are 'left to breathe, (very few in number) are ſhut 'up in dungeons, dark and hideous, there, in 'utter woe, and anguiſh, to protract a life worſe 'than death.

'Indeed, if I yet poſſeſſed intire whatever I 'have loſt; if ſuch perſons and fortune, as now 'perſecute me, proved now, as formerly, all 'ſmiling and friendly; I ſhould ſtill have re-'courſe, for help, to you, conſcript fathers, 'whenever any public diſaſter unawares befel me; 'to you, whom it behoves, as poſſeſſing ſuch in-'finite puiſſance and empire, to protect the cauſe 'of juſtice every-where, and to remove all oppreſ-'ſion. In my preſent diſtreſs, to whom ſhall I 'repair, or what other aſſiſtance implore; a ſolita-

'ry vagabond, driven in exile from my native 'country and abode; a wretched prince, deſti-'tute of all princely fortune? Shall I apply to 'ſuch people and potentates, as are, to a man, 'the ſworn enemies of our houſe, ever ſince we 'became your friends? Can I poſſibly ſeek re-'lief from any quarter, where there are not ſtill 'remaining numberleſs monuments of the ravag-'es committed by my forefathers, warring on 'your account? Or, can any of thoſe, who were 'once your enemies, ſhew the leaſt compaſſion to 'me?

'Add to all this the conſtant documents of 'Maſiniſſa to us his deſcendents, that, poſtponing 'all other nations whatſoever, we ſhould cultivate 'union only with the Roman people, nor admit 'of any other engagements, or any other confe-'deracies; that in your friendſhip we ſhould ever 'find abundant protection; and, if evil fortune 'ſhould haſten the downfal of your empire, we, 'too, muſt periſh with you. You are ſtill, by 'your own magnanimity, and the appointment 'of the deities, mighty and opulent. All things 'tamely yield to your power; all your undertak-'ings proſper: whence you are able, with great 'eaſe, to redreſs and avenge the wrongs done to 'your friends.

'One thing only I fear; leſt ſome here, too 'little knowing the ſpirit of Jugurtha, may be 'miſguided by their favour for him. Such, I am 'informed, are employing indefatigable pains in 'his behalf, forming intrigues in the ſenate, and 'importuning particular ſenators, that you may

'decree nothing againſt him, whilſt he is abſent,
'and before you have heard his defence; for that
'my grievances are all forged, that I only feign
'a neceſſity for flying, when I might have remain-
'ed with ſecurity at home.

'O that I could ſee Jugurtha here, juſt ſo cir-
'cumſtanced, and practiſing juſt ſuch fiction; him,
'by whoſe inhuman iniquity I am expoſed to theſe
'extreme miſeries! O that, in time, either you,
'or the immortal gods, would manifeſt ſuch re-
'gard for the affairs of men, that the parricide,
'who triumphs and flouriſhes in his guilt and e-
'normities, may be doomed to ſuffer every racking
'woe; and attone, by a courſe of agonies, for his
'unnatural behaviour to his adopting father; for
'ſpilling the blood of my brother; and for all the
'deplorable calamities, which he has brought up-
'on me!

'Here, O my brother, ever dear to my ſoul!
'what though thou wert bereft of life, even in thy
'youth, by one, too, from whom, of all men,
'it was never to have been apprehended; ſtill I
'eſteem thy fall rather matter of joy, than of
'wailing; ſince, by it, though thou haſt loſt thy
'kingdom, thou haſt likewiſe eſcaped expulſion,
'exile, poverty, and all the various miſeries un-
'der which I groan. Behold me, who ſurvive
'thee, plunged, forlorn, into a ſea of affliction!
'driven from my paternal throne! expoſed a ſad
'ſpectacle of the mutability of all things human!
'perplexed, and uncertain what courſe to take;
'whether I ſhall proſecute vengeance for thy cry-
'ing wrongs, whilſt I myſelf want help to redreſs

'my own; or whether I ſhall try to recover my 'kingdom, when my lot of life or death lies yet 'in the breaſt and power of others. What I wiſh 'for myſelf, is, by a voluntary death, to find an 'honourable iſſue to all my evils and ſorrows; 'ſince I cannot live amongſt men without ſcorn, 'ſhould they ſee me deſpairing under my misfor-'tunes, and tamely ſubmitting to oppreſſion.

'Under this difficulty, therefore, when I can-'not live, but with regret, nor die, but with re-'proach, I adjure you, conſcript fathers, by your-'ſelves, by your children and parents, by the 'majeſty of the Roman people, to ſuccour the 'wretched Atherbal; to oppoſe oppreſſion; and 'not to ſuffer the kingdom of Numidia, which 'is your own, to be contaminated by uſurpation, 'and by the total ſlaughter of our royal houſe.'

As ſoon as the king had done ſpeaking, the ambaſſadors from Jugurtha, relying more upon the force of their preſents, than upon the righteouſneſs of their cauſe, returned a ſhort anſwer, that 'Hiempſal was ſlain by the Numidians, for his 'cruelty: Atherbal, who had recourſe to war, 'unprovoked, after he was vanquiſhed in it, com-'plained, that his oppreſſive purſuits had failed 'him. Jugurtha only requeſted the ſenate, not 'to believe him changed from what he had ap-'proved himſelf at Numantia, nor lay more ſtreſs 'upon the bare words of his enemy, than upon 'his own actions and conduct.' Then both Atherbal and the ambaſſadors withdrew; and the debate immediately began.

All the patrons of Jugurtha, as alſo a great many corrupted by their influence and authority, treated with ſcorn whatever had been alleged by Atherbal; but exalted, with high ſtrains of praiſe, the bravery of Jugurtha, ſolicited for him, pleaded for him, and, indeed, exerted all their endeavours, every way, to defend the crimes and infamy of another, as if they had been vindicating their own character and fame. In oppoſition to theſe, there were ſome few, who, preferring juſtice, and good conſcience, to money, propoſed it, as their advice, to ſuccour Atherbal, and ſeverely to revenge the murder of his brother. He who urged this with the greateſt keenneſs, was Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, a man of high quality, of a reſtleſs ſpirit, full of faction, paſſionate for power, and honours, and riches; but, withal, very dextrous in concealing his vices. Scaurus, obſerving the king's treaſures to be diſtributed to the ſenators, in a way ſo open and ſhameleſs, as to be publicly infamous, apprehended, what uſually happens on the like occaſion, that ſuch proſtitute venality would rouſe popular indignation; and, therefore, now reſtrained his natural paſſion for money.

In the ſenate, however, that party prevailed, who hearkened to price and influence, rather than to right. A decree was made, appointing ten commiſſioners to divide the whole dominions poſſeſſed by Micipſa between Jugurtha and Atherbal. The leading men in the commiſſion was Lucius Opimius, one highly diſtinguiſhed, and, then, of prevailing credit in the ſenate; becauſe he had,

when conſul, ſlain Caius Gracchus, and Marcus Fulvius; and, by furious havoc amongſt the populace, terribly avenged the nobility upon the plebeians. Jugurtha well knew Opimius to be one of his patrons at Rome, yet received and courted him anew, with the moſt ſtudied careſſes, preſented him liberally, promiſed him copiouſly, and, indeed, gained him ſo effectually, that he came to prefer the king's intereſt to his own reputation and conſcience, and to every near concern. Jugurtha accoſted the other commiſſioners with the ſame arts, and gained moſt of them: to ſome few their faith and honour proved dearer than money. In dividing the kingdom, that part of Numidia which is bounded by Mauritania, and excels in men and ſoil, was aſſigned to Jugurtha. Atherbal had the other ſhare; indeed better provided with harbours, and more improved with buildings, but of much more ſhew than of ſtrength and importance.

My undertaking ſeems here to require me briefly to deſcribe the ſituation of Africa, and to preſent a ſhort account of ſuch nations there, with whom we have ever maintained amity or war. Of the other countries and people, ſuch as exceſſive heat, or the rigour and pain of travelling, or even mighty and unhoſpitable deſarts, have rendered leſs acceſſible and frequented; as I want ſufficient information about them, I ſhall attempt no account at all. What I have to ſay of the reſt, I ſhall diſpatch very ſuccinctly.

In the partition of the globe, moſt writers conſider Africa as a third part of the whole. There are but very few who divide it into two parts only,

namely Aſia and Europe, and in Europe include Africa. It is bounded, on the weſt, by the ſtraits which join the ocean to our ſea; on the eaſt, by immenſe plains, proceeding in a continual ſlope; and called, by the natives, Catabathmos. The ſea of Africa is tempeſtuous, and unfurniſhed with harbours; the ſoil fruitful in corn, kindly to cattle, barren of trees: here the ſky yields little rain; the earth few ſources of water. The people have hale bodies, are very fleet, and eaſily bear fatigue: moſt of them die only of age; unleſs it be ſuch as the ſword or wild beaſts deſtroy; for few are cut off by diſeaſes. Of deſtructive creatures they have, indeed, great ſtore.

Concerning the original inhabitants of Africa, and ſuch as afterwards paſſed thither, with the manner of their intermixing together, I ſhall here ſubjoin a very ſhort account, different, I own, from the current opinion with us, but taken from their books, ſaid to have been thoſe of Hiempſal, as the ſame were explained to me, agreeable to the conſtant perſuaſion of the natives. For the truth, however, of the relation, let the authors of it be anſwerable.

The firſt poſſeſſors of Africa were the Getulians, and Lybians; a race altogether brutal and ſavage, eating the fleſh of beaſts, or feeding upon wild herbs, like cattle; ſubject to no rules or diſcipline, nor to ſocial laws, nor to any authority or ruler whatſoever. As they lived roaming and vagabond, where-ever night conſtrained them to reſt, there they found their manſion. But after Hercules died, as the Africans conjecture, in

Spain, and his army, formed of divers nations, now bereft of their leader, coming ſoon to diſperſe, whilſt numerous competitors to ſucceed him in the command ſtarted up on all hands, ſuch of his followers as were Perſians, Medes, and Armenians, ſailed over to Africa, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the territory lying along our ſea; the Perſians ſettled more weſterly than the reſt, and nearer to the ocean. Theſe latter made themſelves dwellings of their ſhips turned upſide-down: for the country yielded no timber; nor was there an opportunity of procuring it, by money, or traffic, from Spain; ſuch was the great diſtance by ſea, and ſuch their language, not underſtood there, as to reſtrain them from all intercourſe in trade. By degrees, they mixed, through intermarriages, with the Getulians; and, becauſe they rambled continually hither and thither, ſeeking out and trying freſh paſture, they called themſelves Numidians *. Moreover, the houſes of the Numidian peaſants, by them called Mapalia, or huts, are, to this day, ſhaped like the hulls of ſhips, long and narrow, the covering of the roof ſwelling in the middle, and ſloping at each end.

Now, the Libyans, whoſe abode was near the African ſea, choſe to incorporate themſelves with the Medes and Armenians: for the Getulians lay more to the ſun; indeed, almoſt under his perpendicular rays. The Libyans had reared cities very early; ſince, as they were ſeparated from Spain only by the Streight, they held mutual com-

* Or Nomades, paſtors.

merce with that country. By little and little the name of the Medes was loſt, in the barbarous language of Libya, and corruptly turned into that of Moors.

Now the Perſians ſuddenly roſe to great power and proſperity; inſomuch that, becauſe of their mighty numbers, the youth left their parents; and, under this new name of Numidians, took poſſeſſion of the regions which border upon Carthage, and are ſtill called Numidia. Thenceforward, continuing to ſuport each other, they brought, by force or fear, the nations on every ſide under their dominion. Thus they procured to themſelves high reputation and glory; more eſpecially thoſe of them who advanced fartheſt along our ſea-coaſt; for that the Libyans were found leſs warlike than the Getulians.

At laſt, the lower Africa was almoſt intirely occupied and ruled by the Numidians; and the conquered, becoming all one people with the conquerors, were called by the ſame name. Afterwards arrived the Phoenicians; ſome ſent from home, to eaſe their native country, oppreſſed with numbers; others, from ambition, decoyed away the populace, with deſign to govern them; and many were led by a paſſion for novelty and change. The Phoenicians founded Hippo, Adrumetum, Leptis, and other maritime cities, which ſoon became powerful and flouriſhing, and proved, ſome of them a ſupport, others an honour, to thoſe from whence they ſprang. For, concerning Carthage, I hold it more juſt to ſpeak nothing, than

to ſpeak but little; ſeeing it is alſo time to purſue another taſk.

From the plains of Catabathmos, (which are the boundaries ſeparating Egypt from Africa) following the ſea-coaſt, the firſt city is that of Cyrene, a Greek colony from Thera. Next are the two Syrtes: between them ſtands Leptis; and then the two altars, raiſed to the two brothers Phileni, which limited the dominions of Carthage towards Egypt: afterwards are found out other Punic cities. All the other territories, quite to Mauritania, are occupied by the Numidians. The Moors are ſituated neareſt to Spain. Above Numidia, as I have learned, live the Getulians; ſome in huts, others wild and roaming. Beyond theſe are the Æthiopians; and, further on, regions utterly ſcorched by the rays of the ſun. Now, during this war, the Roman people had governors of their own, in moſt of the Punic cities, and in the territories belonging to Carthage. Great part of the Getulians were ſubject to Jugurtha; ſo were the Numidians, as far as the river Mulucha. The Moors were all under the ſovereignty of Bocchus, who knew nothing of the Romans, farther than their name; neither was he before known to them, by any intercourſe of war or peace. I have now diſcourſed of Africa, and its inhabitants, ſufficiently for my preſent purpoſe.

After this new partition of the Numidian monarchy, by the Roman deputies, and their return home, when Jugurtha, contrary to what he dreaded, found his uſurpation and parricide crowned with high rewards, he held for certain, what he

had learned from his friends at Numantia, that all things whatſoever were ſubject to ſale at Rome. He was alſo animated, by the offers of aſſiſtance from ſuch as he had lately loaded with liberalities; and thus determined to ſeize the principality of Atherbal: he was, indeed, himſelf extremely daring, and a complete warrior; but he whoſe deſtruction he ſought, was meek, ſpiritleſs, of a gentle temper, and obnoxious to violence; more ſubject to be terrified, than to create terror.

He, therefore, on a ſudden, invades his territories, at the head of a powerful band; takes numerous captives, flocks and herds, and other booty; ſets fire to the dwellings; and ſcouring with his horſe from quarter to quarter, ravaged all, as an open enemy. He then returned home, with all his priſoners and ſpoil: for he judged, that Atherbal would be ſo ſharpened by reſentment, as to ſeek redreſs by arms, and thence furniſh pretence for a war. But he, beſides that he thought not himſelf a match for Jugurtha in war, and, withal, relying more upon the friendſhip of the Romans, than upon his own ſubjects, ſent deputies to complain to Jugurtha of ſuch outrages: and, though theſe deputies returned with anſwers full of inſult and ſcorn, yet he determined, rather to ſuffer all things, than have recourſe to war, which he had tried before to his loſs.

Neither thus could he allay the luſt of uſurpation in Jugurtha; as one who had, in his own mind, already conquered the intire dominions of Atherbal: inſomuch that, ceaſing his late incurſions by predatory bands, and forming a great ar-

my, he made open war at the head of it, and, avowedly, puſhed for the ſovereignty of all Numidia. With this view, on every hand as he marched, he ſeized towns, ravaged the country, and committed univerſal plunder; ſtriving, at once, to heighten the courage of his own men, and the conſternation of the enemy.

Atherbal, when he perceived himſelf ſo puſhed, that he muſt either abandon his kingdom, or try, by arms, to defend it, yielding to neceſſity, levies forces, and marches againſt Jugurtha: ſo that both armies encamped by the city of Cirta, not far from the ſea; but as it was very late in the day, no engagement immediately enſued; nor till moſt of the night was paſt: then, juſt upon the dawn of day, Jugurtha's ſoldiers, upon a ſignal given, aſſailed the intrenchments of the enemy; where, falling upon ſome ſcarce awake, upon others juſt betaking themſelves to arms, they utterly vanquiſhed and routed them. Atherbal, accompanied with a few horſe, eſcaped to Cirta; and, had not ſuch of the citizens as were Italians, in great numbers, repulſed the purſuing Numidians from the walls, upon the ſame day had been begun and concluded the war between the two kings.

Jugurtha, thus diſappointed, begirt the city; and, by towers, and covered galleries, and every engine of battery, laboured to force it; as he was eager to take it, ere the deputies, whom he had learned to have been diſpatched to Rome, by Atherbal, before the battle, were arrived there; but, as the ſenate were firſt advertiſed of the war, they ſent, forthwith, into Africa, three em-

baſſadors, all young men, with orders, to repair to each of the two kings; and, in ſolemn form, declare to them the expreſs will and appointment of the ſenate and people of Rome; 'That they 'ſhould forbear contending at arms; and refer 'their differences rather to the deciſion of the civil 'tribunal, than to that of the ſword: thus they 'would act ſuitable to the dignity of Rome, as 'well as to their own reſpective intereſts.'

The ambaſſadors arrived in Africa, with great expedition; the more, becauſe, at Rome, whilſt they were preparing to depart, a report had arrived both of the fight, and of the ſiege of Cirta; though it was but a feeble report, not much credited. When they had declared their commiſſion to Jugurtha, he anſwered, 'That, by him, nothing was 'held higher, nothing dearer, than the authority 'of the ſenate: from his tender years, he had 'bent his endeavours to gain the eſteem of all 'men of diſtinguiſhed merit. He had procured 'the friendſhip of that excellent perſon, Publius 'Scipio, by virtuous actions, not by baſe prac-'tices. Micipſa, from the ſame recommendati-'ons, and no want of childern of his own, had 'adopted him coheir with them to his ſovereignty. 'Yet ſtill the brighter and braver his courſe had 'been, the leſs could his ſoul brook inſults and 'wrongs. Atherbal had contrived ſnares againſt 'his life: when he had diſcovered them, he ap-'plied himſelf to defeat the intended parricide. 'The Roman people would act neither wiſely nor 'uprightly, were they to reſtrain him from purſu-'ing the common right of nations. Finally, he

'would very ſoon ſend to Rome certain deputies; 'ſuch as would explain and adjuſt all affairs what-'ſoever.'

Thus he and the deputies parted; nor were they allowed any acceſs to Atherbal. Jugurtha, as ſoon as he conceived the deputies to have left Africa, and ſeeing that Cirta, from the ſtrength of its ſituation, could not be taken by aſſault, inveſts it with a trench and paliſade, builds towers, and furniſhes them with armed men. He was alſo night and day trying all ſchemes, both of force and artifice; now to tempt the garriſon with great rewards; anon to terrify them with boaſts of his power; ſtill rouſing the courage of his own men, by pathetic ſpeeches. He, in truth, exerted all his art and induſtry in all points.

Atherbal, finding himſelf, and all his imperial fortune, reduced to extreme peril, his enemy implacable, no hopes of relief, and, through ſcarcity of proviſions, an impoſſibility of protracting the war, choſe, from amongſt thoſe who had accompanied him in his flight to Cirta, two of the moſt remarkable for activity and ſpirit; and, by many high promiſes, as well as by the ſad repreſentation of his ſufferings, engaged them to venture, by night, through the enemy's intrenchments, directly to the next ſhore, and thence to Rome. The two Numidians, in a few days, executed their orders: Atherbal's letter was preſented to the ſenate, and there read in the following ſtrain:

'It is not my fault, that I am become a fre-'quent ſuitor to you, conſcript fathers: the fury 'of Jugurtha forces me; a man poſſeſſed with

'ſuch a paſſion to deſtroy me, that he regards 'neither your reſentment, nor even that of the 'immortal gods. It is my blood which he ſeeks 'above all things: inſomuch that, though I am 'an avowed friend and confederate of the Roman 'people, I have been beſieged by him for near 'five months: neither do the mighty favours 'conferred upon him by my father Micipſa, nor 'your awful decrees in my behalf, conduce at 'all to ſuccour me. I am even unable to declare, 'whether famine, or the ſword, doth moſt keen-'ly aſſault me.

'Such, however, is my unhappy ſituation, as to 'diſcourage me from multiplying complaints a-'gainſt Jugurtha; ſince I have had already ſad 'experience, what little belief is given to the 'words of the miſerable: yet I will add, that I 'perceive his aim to be much higher than me; 'and that he can never hope at once to enjoy 'your friendſhip, and my kingdom: for which 'of theſe he is moſt ſolicitous, is a doubt to no 'man. For, firſt, he murdered my brother Hiemp-'ſal; than chaſed me out of my paternal king-'dom. Suppoſe theſe barbarities to be only in-'tereſting to our family, and nowiſe affecting 'you: he now poſſeſſes, by violence, a king-'dom which is yours: ſo that I, who was, by 'you, eſtabliſhed monarch of Numidia, am, by 'him, ſhut up and beſieged. What regard he 'pays to an embaſſy from you, delivered him by 'your own deputies, my many ſtraits and perils 'abundantly declare. What remains, but that

'you have preſent recourſe to arms; ſince by 'theſe only he can be reclaimed.

'For myſelf, I would much rather chuſe, that 'all theſe my preſent repreſentations to you, with 'all the complaints which I have already made be-'fore the ſenate, were alike falſe and groundleſs, 'than have them verified by my own deplorable 'ſufferings. But, ſince I am doomed, by fate, 'to be a ſpectacle of the bloody iniquities of Ju-'gurtha, I do not now implore you to redeem 'me from death, nor from diſtreſs, but only to 'preſerve me from falling into the hands of my 'cruel enemy, and from the agonies of the rack. 'About the kingdom of Numidia, which, indeed, 'belongs to you, direct ſuch meaſures to be taken 'as you beſt approve. In the mean time, reſcue me 'from his ſavage vengeance: to this I conjure 'you, by the majeſty of the Roman ſtate, by the 'ſacred faith of mutual friendſhip and alliance, 'if any veneration yet remains amongſt you for 'your antient confederate, my grandfather Ma-'ſiniſſa.'

When this letter was read in the ſenate, there were ſome ſenators who propoſed, to have an army diſpatched into Africa, ſuccours to be tranſmitted to Atherbal, and that the ſenate ſhould forthwith proceed to paſs ſome judgment upon Jugurtha, for having diſobeyed their orders, conveyed to him by their deputies. But the king's wonted advocates there perſiſted, with notable vigour, to oppoſe any ſuch ordinance againſt him: ſo that it happened in this, as in moſt inſtances, that public utility was forced to ſubmit to private intereſt.

Ambaſſadors were, however, choſen, of age and dignity; ſuch as had exerciſed the higheſt offices; particularly, Marcus Scaurus, whom I had already mentioned, a perſon of conſular rank, and then prince of the ſenate.

Theſe, perceiving the popular indignation raiſed, and, being, moreover, earneſtly implored by the Numidians, embarked within three days; and, quickly arriving at Utica, wrote to Jugurtha, 'To 'come to them, with all ſpeed into the Roman 'provinces; for that they were ſent to him by 'the ſenate.'

He, when he had learned, that men of ſuch ſignal eminence, who bore high ſway at Rome, were purpoſely come to croſs his purſuits, was diſtracted between fear, and thirſt of power. He dreaded the indignation of the ſenate, if he obeyed not their ambaſſadors; but ſtill his ſoul, blinded by ambition, drove him headlong to accompliſh his bloody undertaking. In his unbounded and unrelenting ſpirit the criminal counſel prevailed: thus he aſſaulted the town with his whole army, on every ſide; and ſtrove, with all his might, to force an entrance; as he chiefly hoped, that, having thus ſeparated the enemy's forces, he ſhould have a chance for victory, either from ſtrength or ſtratagem. As the event diſappointed his hopes, and as he could not effect what he had ſtudied, to get poſſeſſion of Atherbal before he met the ambaſſadors, he would not, by more delays, incenſe Scaurus, of whom he had exceeding awe; but, accompanied with a few horſe, proceeded into the Roman province. Yet there, though he heard the

high menaces denounced againſt him, in the name of the ſenate, for ſtill perſevering in the ſiege, after a long debate, the ambaſſadors departed without ſucceſs.

When all this came to be known at Cirta, the Italians there, by whoſe bravery only the town was defended, perſuading themſelves, that the awful power of the Roman people would procure certain impunity to their perſons after a ſurrender, counſelled Atherbal, to yield himſelf, and the place to Jugurtha, ſtipulating only for his life; for that the ſenate would effectually interpoſe in whatever elſe concerned him. Atherbal was aware, that any expedient of any kind was rather to be truſted than the faith of Jugurtha; yet, conſidering, that they who adviſed him had power to force him, if he refuſed, ſubmitted to what the Italians propoſed, and ſurrendered. The firſt fury of Jugurtha fell upon Atherbal, whom he ſtrait put to death upon the rack: then his ſoldiers butchered, on all hands, all the Numidian youth, and all foreign traders without diſtinction.

At Rome, when intelligence of this arrived there, and began to produce debates in the ſenate, the ſame men who had been the king's former champions in it, laboured to qualify the horror of his guilt, often by intrigues, and application to particular ſenators, and often gained time by long ſpeeches and cavilings. In truth, had not Caius Memmius, tribune of the people elect, a man of great ſpirit, and a determined foe to the mighty ſway of the nobility, thoroughly appriſed the Roman people, whither all this tended; even that,

by the intrigues of a ſmall cabal, Jugurtha might obtain impunity for his crying crimes; it is certain, that the public horror againſt him would have vaniſhed by their ſtudiouſly protracting the proceedings: ſo mighty was the force of favour, and that of the king's treaſure!

But the ſenate, who were ſtruck with their own criminal omiſſion, and dreaded the reſentment of the people, in compliance with the Sempronian law, now decreed to the enſuing conſuls Numidia and Italy for their provinces, the former to Lucius Beſtia Calpurnius, Italy to Publius Scipio Naſica; for theſe two were already nominated to the conſulſhip: next, forces were enrolled for an army to be tranſported immediately to Africa; and an ordinance made for their payment, and for all the appointments and expence of the war.

Now when Jugurtha had information of theſe proceedings, ſo oppoſite to his hopes, as an opinion had ſtrongly poſſeſſed him, that at Rome all things whatſoever were obtainable by money, he diſpatched away his ſon, accompanied with two truſty minions, on an embaſſay to the ſenate, furniſhed with the ſame orders given to his former ambaſſadors, ſent thither after the aſſaſſination of Hiempſal, 'That they ſhould, with treaſure, tempt 'all ſorts of men.' Theſe were already advancing towards Rome, when Beſtia had recourſe to the judgment of the ſenate, 'Whether they eſteemed 'it proper to admit the deputies of Jugurtha with-'in the walls?' and it was decreed, 'That, un-'leſs they came to deliver up both their king and 'kingdom, they muſt quit Italy within ten days.'

This reſolution the conſul ſignified, as he was ordered, to the Numidians. Thus they returned without any point gained.

Calpurnius, the while, having completed his army, choſe for his lieutenant-generals, ſuch perſons as were, at once, ſignal in quality and caballing; perſons of ſufficient weight to juſtify whatever wrong meaſures he might take: of that number was Scaurus, of whoſe ſpirit and conduct I have above given an account. In truth, the conſul himſelf had many valuable recommendations, both of mind and body, but all rendered fruitleſs by predominant avarice: he was a man capable of every fatigue, of vigorous ſpirit, of abundant forecaſt; no-wiſe untrained in war, never to be moved by peril; nor diſconcerted by ſurprize.

The legions, marching through Italy to Rhegium, were tranſported to Sicily; thence to Africa: ſo that Calpurnius, who, indeed, had early furniſhed himſelf with all neceſſary proviſions, invaded Numidia with all notable vigour, took a multitude of priſoners, and ſtormed ſeveral cities. But no ſooner had Jugurtha begun, by his emiſſaries, to tempt him with treaſure, and to repreſent to him the ſevere diſcouragements and hazards attending the war which he had undertaken, than his ſoul, frail with avarice, quickly yielded. He, however, engaged Scaurus with him, as a ſharer and adviſer in all his meaſures: for though Scaurus, at firſt, even when moſt of his faction were already corrupted, had oppoſed the king's cauſe with all his might; yet now, by the force of a mighty

ſum, he deſerted a courſe of juſtice and honour, for one of injuſtice and venality.

In truth, Jugurtha, at firſt, aimed only at purchaſing time, and a ceſſation of war; as he thought, that, in the mean while, by the aid of his friends, or that of his money, he ſhould find ſucceſs at Rome: but when he learned, that Scaurus had engaged in the cauſe, he entertained high hopes of gaining a final peace; and thence determined, in perſon, to concert the ſeveral articles with his patrons. In the interval, as a pledge for his ſecurity in coming, Sextus the quaeſtor was diſpatched, by the conſul to Vacca, a town where the king then was: for which journey another pretence was furniſhed; that of receiving a quantity of grain, which Calpurnius had publicly ordered the deputies of Jugurtha to provide; ſince he was to grant them a ceſſation of arms, till the treaty for ſurrender was concluded.

At laſt, Jugurtha, purſuing his ſcheme, entered the Roman camp; where, after a ſhort addreſs to the council of officers, to extenuate the abhorrence of his proceedings, he propoſed to yield himſelf up to the Romans. The conditions were all ſettled afterwards, in private with Beſtia and Scaurus. Next day, his ſurrender, all ſecretly concerted, was formerly accepted, as if it had been concluded, after regular debate, by the general concurrence of voices. There were, therefore, delivered to the quaeſtor thirty elephants, a number of horſes, with ſome cattle, and a moderate ſum of money; all agreeably to the injunction from the council of officers. Calpurnius then

proceeded to Rome, to aſſiſt at the election of magiſtrates. In Numidia, the while, and in our army there, abſolute tranquillity reigned.

Now, when the tranſactions in Africa were, by common fame, divulged, as alſo under what management they had paſſed, the behaviour of the conſul was loudly canvaſſed in all companies and aſſemblies at Rome: the people declared their deteſtation: the ſenate was ſorely perplexed: nor could it certainly be inferred, whether they would confirm the infamous treaty, or condemn the ordinance of the conſul.

What principally obſtructed them from purſuing juſt and vigorous counſels, was the great ſway and influence of Scaurus; becauſe he was affirmed to have been the prompter and aſſociate of Beſtia. During this irreſolution, and theſe pauſes of the ſenate, Caius Memmius, whom I have before mentioned, as a man of a bold and of a free ſpirit, and a declared enemy to the mighty ſway of the nobility, had recourſe to the people; and, in their aſſemblies, urged them, by pathetic ſpeeches, to vindicate their own wrongs; warned them, never to abandon the commonwealth, never to forſake the cauſe of liberty: he ſtrongly repreſented all the acts of power of the nobility, many very imperious, many very barbarous; and earneſtly purſuing his purpoſe, was daily, by all methods, inflaming the minds of the populace.

Now, ſeeing the eloquence of Memmius was, at this juncture, in high renown, and of powerful influence, at Rome, I have judged it expedient, to tranſcribe one of his ſpeeches, out of ma-

ny; and, above all, that which, upon the return of Beſtia, he made to an aſſembly of the people, in the following ſtrain.

'Were not my paſſion for the commonwealth 'ſuperior to all things, there are many conſidera- 'tions to withdraw me from this my adherence 'to you, Romans; conſiderations indeed! the 'terrible puiſſance of the oppoſite party; your 'own ſervile patience; a ſcandalous failure of all 'juſtice; above all, innocence and integrity ra- 'ther expoſed to danger, than attended with re- 'compence and honour. For it is painful to 'me to recount, how, for fifteen years paſt, you 'have proved the ſcorn of a few grandees! how 'infamouſly your great champions have periſhed, 'firſt undefended, then unrevenged! as if your 'wonted vigour were overcome by effeminacy 'and ſtupidity; ſince, even now, you rouſe not 'yourſelves to make a ſtand againſt your enemies, 'though thus lying at your mercy: nay, even 'now, you are awed by thoſe whom, by improv- 'ing the preſent conjuncture, you ſhould cauſe 'to tremble.

'Yet, though this be the ſad courſe of things, ſtill 'my zeal forces me to encounter all the power 'of the cabal; nor will I fail boldly to exerciſe 'that liberty which my father conveyed down to 'me: indeed, in your own hands it lies, O Ro- 'mans, whether I exerciſe it fruitleſly, or with 'certain advantage.

'Still I mean not to perſuade you, by arms, 'to remove ſo many wrongs: though it be what 'your forefathers have frequently done. Here is

‘ no need of violence; none of retreating out of
‘ Rome; ſince they muſt fall headlong in their
‘ own wild purſuits. After the aſſaſſination of Ti-
‘ berius Gracchus, whom they charged to have aim-
‘ ed at ſovereignty, they doomed many of the
‘ Roman people to executions, racks, and baniſh-
‘ ments. After the murder of Caius Gracchus,
‘ and that of Marcus Fulvius, they doomed great
‘ numbers of our body to periſh in dungeons:
‘ neither was it the authority of the law, but
‘ their own good pleaſure, that at laſt ſtayed the
‘ progreſs of both theſe maſſacres.

‘ But be it ſo, that the reſtoring their rights to
‘ the people, was to introduce ſingle ſovereignty;
‘ be it ſo, that it was lawful, even by ſpilling the
‘ Roman citizens, to redreſs what could not be o-
‘ therwiſe redreſſed: yet, remember, with what
‘ ſecret regret you have, for a ſeries of years, be-
‘ held the public treaſures robbed; beheld the tri-
‘ bute from powerful kings, tribute from great
‘ independent nations, all paid to a few of the no-
‘ bility; beheld thoſe few, maſters of all public
‘ honours, of rule without controul, of wealth
‘ without bounds.

‘ Nay, they hold it a ſmall matter, to have
‘ committed ſo many and ſo high exceſſes with
‘ impunity: they, therefore, as their laſt effort,
‘ have betrayed to the common enemy the laws
‘ of the ſtate, the majeſty of you the Roman
‘ people, with whatever is deareſt to the gods and
‘ to men.

‘ Neither, for all theſe enormous doings, do
‘ the authors of them feel remorſe or ſhame:

'quite otherwiſe; they paſs daily in your view 'with magnificent pomp; all proudly diſplaying, 'ſome their pontifical, ſome their conſular, nay, 'ſome their triumphal dignities: as if ſuch dig-'nities, ſo placed, were real marks of honour, 'and not the trappings of uſurpation and rapine. 'Slaves, purchaſed with money, ſubmit not to 'the unjuſt commands of their maſters: can you, 'that are Romans, born to command, tamely en-'dure the yoke of ſlavery!

'But who are they who have thus ingroſſed the 'commonwealth to themſelves? The moſt crimi-'nal and guilty of all men; their hands dyed with 'blood; enormouſly rapacious; of matchleſs wic-'kedneſs, and matchleſs arrogance; men who 'convert faith and honour, public truſt, and 'public ſpirit, in a word, whatever is juſt or un-'juſt, into traffic and gain. Some of them de-'rive their ſecurity from the murder of your tri-'bunes; others from the lawleſs arraignments of 'your brethren; moſt of all from their having 'butchered you in a body: inſomuch that who-'ever hath done you the higheſt miſchief, is in the 'higheſt ſafety. Inſtead of fearing you, after ſo 'many crimes, from your want of ſpirit they 'make you fear them. As they all agree in the 'ſame objects of hate, avidity, and fear, they 'are thence all linked together in a common band 'of union; ſuch a union as, amongſt worthy 'men, conſtitutes friendſhip, but, amongſt guil-'ty men, proves only faction and conſpiracy.

'Doubtleſs, were you as zealous for your liber-'ty, as they are paſſionate for tyranny, neither

'would the commonwealth be rent piece-meal, as 'it is, nor the honours in your gift be conferred 'upon the moſt confident and aſſuming, but up- 'on the moſt deſerving. Twice did your fore- 'fathers withdraw their obedience from the ſe- 'nate, and retire, under arms, to mount Aven- 'tine; in order to obtain equal laws, and to 'eſtabliſh the dignity of the people: will not you 'ſtruggle, with your utmoſt might, to maintain 'the liberty which they have delivered down to 'you? nay, will you not ſtruggle with the more 'ardour, as it is higher infamy to abandon bleſ- 'ſings once procured, than never to have procur- 'ed them?

'Here ſome of you will deſire to know my 'own opinion: it is, that you puniſh thoſe who 'have ſacrificed the commonwealth to a public 'enemy: I do not mean by tumultuous force, 'or any ſudden violence; a method of vengeance, 'indeed, more befitting them to ſuffer, than you 'to inflict; but by ſtrict proceſs and arraign- 'ment, and even by the evidence of Jugurtha 'himſelf: for, if that king have really delivered 'himſelf up, you will find him obſequious to all 'your commands; whereas, if he reject them, 'you will clearly diſcern, what ſort of peace and 'ſubmiſſion this is, from whence there accrues, 'to Jugurtha, impunity for all his tragical crimes, 'mighty wealth to a few grandees; and to the 'Roman ſtate ſuch mighty loſs and diſgrace.

'But, poſſibly, you are not yet tired with the 'domineering of theſe men; nay, poſtpone any 'change whatever to the late courſe of things;

'when kingdoms, provinces, law, and right, the 'public tribunals, and all deciſion of proceſs, with 'war and peace; finally, every thing, divine and 'human; depended upon the ſole will of a ca-'bal: whilſt you, even you, the people of Rome, 'though ſtill found invincible to your foreign 'enemies, ſtill confeſſed lords of the world, con-'tinued ſatisfied, that you were allowed to live: 'for, in this general bondage, was there one of 'you daring enough to reſiſt it? for myſelf, 'though I judge it notorious infamy in a man, 'to bear an inſult tamely; yet I ſhould, with 'temper, ſee you ſpare the moſt guilty offenders, 'becauſe they are your fellow-citizens; were not 'your mercy to them manifeſtly tending to your 'own deſtruction.

'So determined, in truth, are theſe men, that 'you will have gained little with them, by a remiſſion 'of their enormities paſt, unleſs you bereave them 'of all power to repeat them. Nay, eternal an-'xiety would abide you, when you perceived, 'that you muſt either remain conſtant ſlaves, or 'be conſtantly ſupporting your liberty by arms. 'For what hope is there of any mutual confidence 'and union between them and you? They ſtudy 'to be lords; you to be free: they to oppreſs 'you; you to reſtrain oppreſſion: in ſhort, they 'treat your confederates like public enemies: 'your enemies like confederates. Can there ever 'be peace and reconciliation amongſt minds ſo 'widely eſtranged from each other?

'I, therefore, warn and exhort you, never to 'ſuffer iniquity ſo high and inſupportable to e-

'ſcape condign vengeance. This is not a charge 'of robbing the exchequer, nor of violence 'and extortion upon our confederates; crimes 'very heinous, but grown habitual, and thence 'accounted for nothing. Behold now the autho-'rity of the ſenate, behold your own foreign 'power, both baſely betrayed to a very dreadful 'foe: the republic has been expoſed to ſale in 'our aſſemblies at home, and in our armies a-'broad; crimes ſo daring, that if they be not 'proſecuted, if they be not puniſhed in the per-'ſons of the criminals, what other choice remains, 'than to live under bondage to thoſe who com-'mitted them? for the power of an abſolute king 'is no more than to do what he liſts.

'After all, my intention, O Romans, is not 'to raiſe a wiſh in you, rather to find theſe your 'fellow-citizens to have acted corruptly than wor-'thily: I only warn you, that you do not, by 'pardoning the wicked, expoſe the righteous to 'periſh. I add, that it behoves a ſtate, to be 'rather forgetful of ſervices than of injuries. A 'worthy man, neglected, becomes only leſs ac-'tive; whilſt a bad man, unchecked, grows dai-'ly worſe. Beſides, when wrongs and oppreſſi-'on ceaſe, you will ſeldom need recourſe to 'champions and aſſiſtance.'

By frequently repeating theſe and the like rea-ſonings, Caius Memmius prevailed with the Ro-man people to ſend Lucius Caſſius, then praetor, on a commiſſion to Jugurtha; that, by pledging the public faith to that prince, he ſhould bring him to Rome; whence, by the teſtimony of Ju-

gurtha in perſon, the iniquity of Scaurus and others, who had been purchaſed with money to betray their truſt, might be expoſed to full light. Whilſt theſe meaſures were taking at Rome, the officers left by Beſtia to command the army in Numidia, imitating the conduct of their general, committed very many and very crying enormities. Some, bribed by the king's money, reſtored him his elephants; others ſold him his deſerters; the reſt plundered places under compacts of peace with the Romans. So violent was the ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs; which, like a peſtilence, had ſeized them all!

Now Caſſius the praetor, authorized by this popular ordinance, gained at the ſuit of Memmius, to the great ſurpriſe and abaſement of the nobility, proceeded to Jugurtha; and perſuaded him, though under much fear, and, from the alarms of a guilty mind, diſtruſting his own cauſe, 'That, 'ſince he was already bound, by ſurrendering 'himſelf up to the Roman people, he ſhould now 'reſolve, rather to try their commiſeration, than 'their reſentment and power.' He likewiſe plighted to him his own faith; which Jugurtha eſteemed an equal ſecurity to that of the public: in ſuch high eſtimation at that time was the character of Caſſius!

Jugurtha, therefore, accompanied Caſſius to Rome; diveſted however, of all royal magnificence, and in a dreſs the moſt adapted to raiſe compaſſion. But though he had naturally a very bold ſpirit, and was hardened by all thoſe upon whoſe guilt and ſway he had relied, in perpetrat-

ing all his iniquities, above recited; yet, at the expence of a mighty ſum, he purchaſed the aid of Caius Baebius tribune of the people; as one who had impudence to ſupport him, in ſpight of law, and all attacks whatſoever.

Now when the people were aſſembled by Caius Memmius, notwithſtanding their rage againſt Jugurtha was ſo high, that ſome of them loudly doomed him to irons, as did others to execution, like a public enemy, according to the rigorous uſage of antiquity, unleſs he diſcovered his aſſociates at Rome; yet Memmius, more ſtudious to maintain the dignity of the Roman people, than to humour their fury, applied himſelf to calm their uproar, and to appeaſe their ſpirit: he declared himſelf determined to obſerve inviolably the public faith plighted to that prince. At laſt, when ſilence enſued, he cauſed Jugurtha to be brought forth; and then, purſuing his ſpeech, he recounted all his black proceedings, in Rome, as well as in Numidia; expoſed his foul ingratitude to his adopting father, with the butchery of his two brothers: he declared, that the Roman people, though well appriſed by whoſe aid, and by what inſtruments, he had gone through the whole, ſtill inſiſted upon particular information from the king himſelf. If, in making it, he proved explicit and ſincere, he had much to hope from the clemency and plighted faith of the people of Rome: if he ſuppreſſed the truth, he would not only be diſappointed in ſaving his accomplices, but deſtroy himſelf, and all his hopes, for ever.

When Memmius had concluded his ſpeech, and

Jugurtha was ordered to anſwer, the tribune Baebius, whom I have mentioned to have been gained to his intereſt by money, injoined the king to be ſilent: nay, though the whole multitude, then aſſembled, were dreadfully enraged, ſo as to menace him with terrifying looks and cries, nay, with efforts of violence, and whatever elſe popular indignation inſpires, he had the extreme impudence to brave it all. Upon this mockery the people ſeparated. Hence Jugurtha, Baeſtia, and the reſt, though at firſt all terribly alarmed by this popular proſecution, became now the more ſanguine and ſecure.

During this conjuncture, a certain Numidian was found at Rome, his name Maſſiva, ſon of Guluſſa, and grandchild of Maſiniſſa: he having, in the war amongſt the three princes, joined againſt Jugurtha, when he afterwards ſaw Cirta ſurrendered, and Atherbal murdered, had fled out of Africa. This Numidian was perſuaded, by Spurius Albinus, who, with Quintus Minutius Rufus for his collegue, had ſucceeded Baeſtia in the conſulſhip, to make ſuit to the ſenate for the kingdom; as he was deſcended from Maſiniſſa, and Jugurtha was purſued by univerſal abhorrence for his barbarities, and under daily dread of his fate.

That conſul, who had a mighty paſſion for directing the war, ſtudied rather to promote public commotions, than to ſee them compoſed. It was to his lot the province of Numidia had fallen; as had that of Macedonia to Minutius. When Maſſiva began to purſue his ſuit, Jugurtha, who found the ſuccour of his friends to fail him, ſome of

them reſtrained by guilt and remorſe, others by public infamy and dread, gave ſtrict orders to Bomilcar, his cloſeſt and moſt faithful confident, 'That, by the power of money, whence he had 'conquered numerous difficulties, he ſhould engage aſſaſſins to diſpatch Maſſiva; and to do it 'with the utmoſt ſecrecy; but, if cautious means 'proved ineffectual, to take any method whatever 'to deſtroy him.'

Bomilcar forthwith compelled by the king's commands, and, employing perſons well-ſkilled in ſuch dark adventures, diſcovered the courſe of his rambles and ſallies, with all his ſet times and haunts; and, when things were ripe, concerted the manner of the aſſaſſination: when, therefore, the gang were all properly poſted to execute the murder, one of them attacked Maſſiva; but ſo raſhly, that, though he effectually ſlew him, he was himſelf ſeized; and, finding himſelf preſſed by many, eſpecially by Albinus the conſul, offered to confeſs all.

Bomilcar was arraigned, rather upon the principles of eternal reaſon and juſtice, than according to the law of nations; for he accompanied a prince who had come to Rome, on ſecurity of the public faith. Jugurtha, though manifeſtly guilty of this glaring murder, ſpared no efforts to baffle the truth; till he perceived, that the horror of the crime ſurpaſſed the power of favour, and of all his treaſure: inſomuch that, notwithſtanding he had, upon the arraignment of Bomilcar, engaged the perſons of fifty of his friends, as ſureties, that Bomilcar ſhould abide his trial, he ſent him ſecretly

away to Numidia; as he preferred the ſafety of his crown to that of the ſureties: for he apprehended, that his other ſubjects would be deterred from yielding him obedience, were Bomilcar left to be executed.

In a few days he himſelf withdrew, upon an order to him from the ſenate, *to depart out of Italy*. Upon his living Rome, it is reported, that, having caſt his eyes frequently back thither without uttering a word, he, at laſt, pronounced it, 'A 'city abandoned to venality; and ripe for per-'dition, whenever an able purchaſer appeared.'

As the war was the while revived, Albinus haſtened to tranſport into Africa ſubſiſtence and pay for the ſoldiers, with whatever elſe was neceſſary for the uſe of an army; and arrived himſelf preſently amongſt them, with deſign ſpeedily to terminate the war, either by beating the enemy, or by a treaty of ſubmiſſion, or by any other means, before the return of the time, then approaching, for the annual election of the magiſtrates. Jugurtha, contrariwiſe, interpoſed perpetual delays; urging now one pretence, anon another; ſometimes made offers of an intire ſurrender: then, preſently, affected great fear and diſtruſt; retreated, when preſſed by the foe; and, ſoon after, attacked, in his turn, that he might not diſhearten his men.

Thus he deluded the conſul, and gained time, by a ſucceſſion of hoſtilities and ſtipulations. Nay, there were thoſe, who conjectured Albinus to be privy to the king's meaſures: nor could they believe, that, after ſuch warm preparations, the war

could be ſo eaſily protracted, unleſs more through fraud than indolence.

Now, as the intervening time was elapſed, and the popular elections were at hand, Albinus, leaving his brother Aulus to command in the camp with the authority of praetor, returned to Rome. At this juncture the republic was ſorely rent, by the turbulence and contention of the popular tribunes there. Two of theſe, Publius Lucullus, and Lucius Annius, though oppoſed by all their collegues, ſtruggled to be continued in their magiſtracy: this conteſt prevented the holding any aſſembly for elections during the whole year. From this protraction of time, Aulus, left, as has been ſaid, in the camp with the commiſſion of propraetor, became inſpired with hopes of either terminating the war, or, at leaſt, of forcing the king, by the terror of his army, to preſent him with great treaſure; and, therefore, leading the ſoldiers out of their winter quarters, undertook an expedition in the month of January.

Thus, by mighty marches, under all the inclemency of the ſeaſon, he reached as far as Suthul, a city in which the king's treaſury was placed; a city, both from the ſharpneſs of the weather, and the ſtrength of its ſituation, ſo ſecure, as not to be taken, nor even to admit of a ſiege: for, beſides that it was founded upon the ſummit of a ſteep rock, and fortified with ſtrong walls, the plains that ſurrounded it were ſo flooded by the winter inundations, as to form an inacceſſible marſh. But, for all theſe difficulties, Aulus, whether as a feint, to terrify the king, or, blinded by his rapacious

ſpirit, to maſter the town for the ſake of the treaſure, framed moving galleries, raiſed trenches, and diſpatched all other meaſures neceſſary to ſuch an enterprize.

Jugurtha, well appriſed of the great weakneſs and vanity of the propraetor, practiſed many wiles to heighten his phrenzy. He was continually diſpatching envoys with humble and ſupplicating propoſals; whilſt he himſelf, feigning fear and flight, roamed at a diſtance, with his army, through wild foreſts, and difficult paſſes. At length, by frequent offers of ſurrendering upon articles, he ſo deluded Aulus, that, yielding to the ſnare, he abandoned Suthul to purſue the king; who, appearing ſtill to retreat from him, drew him into remote territories utterly unknown to the Romans; that thence they might be expoſed to all his dark devices: he, therefore, diſperſed dextrous emiſſaries amongſt our men; ſuch as were night and day debauching them from their duty; bribing the centurions, and officers of horſe, ſome to deſert directly to him; others, upon a ſignal given, to abandon their poſts.

When he had thus far puſhed his projects, and found them ſucceſsful, he at once ruſhed upon the camp of Aulus; and, during the dead of the night, inveſted it with a great hoſt of Numidians. As the Roman ſoldiers were aſtoniſhed with the unuſual alarm, ſome graſped their arms; ſome ſought places to hide in; ſome few animated ſuch as they ſaw diſmayed. In all quarters there prevailed ſurprize and affright: the enemy aſſaulted in mighty numbers; thick clouds heightened the dark-

neſs of the night: dreadful peril preſſed on every ſide; nor, in a word, could it be determined whether it was ſafeſt, to maintain their ground, or to fly. At length, a whole cohort of Ligurians, two troops of Thracian horſe, and certain common men, deſerted to Jugurtha; who had, by his agents, ſeduced them, as I have juſt recounted: nay, a centurion of the firſt rank, belonging to the third legion, delivered up a ſtrong poſt, which he had undertaken to defend; and thence furniſhed a paſſage to the enemy into the camp; whither the whole hoſt of the Numidians now furiouſly ruſhed. Our army betook themſelves to an infamous flight; moſt of them even threw away their arms, and retired to a neighbouring hill.

What withheld the enemy from improving their victory, was darkneſs, and the allurement of plunder in the camp. Next day, Jugurtha, at a conference with Aulus, acquainted him, 'That 'though he held him and his army faſt ſhut up, 'under the double preſſure of famine and the ſword; 'yet, remembering the ſlipperineſs and mutability 'of all things human, if the propraetor would 'enter into a treaty of peace with him, he would 'releaſe them all unhurt in their perſons; only 'obliging them to paſs, like captives, under a 'gallows, and withal to retire out of Numidia 'in ten days.' Conditions very grievous to undergo, and glaring with infamy; yet, as by theſe they were all relieved from the dread of death, peace was concluded upon ſuch terms as the king preſcribed.

Now, when theſe tranſactions were divulged at Rome, fear and ſorrow ſeized the city. Many mourned for the fadded glory of the Roman empire; others, unexperienced in the events of war, dreaded danger to their liberty: all were incenſed againſt Aulus, eſpecially thoſe who had themſelves often ſerved with renown in war, that, at the head of an army, he ſought his ſecurity rather from infamous ſubmiſſion, than from manly defence.

Upon theſe conſiderations, the conſul Albinus, who, from the miſerable miſconduct of his brother, feared public abhorrence, and thence much peril to himſelf, had recourſe to the ſenate for their judgment concerning the late treaty; yet omitted not, the while, to gather recruits for the army. He demanded ſuccours from the Latins and confederates; and puſhed with vigour all meaſures for war. The fathers decreed, as they ought, 'That, as neither the ſenate nor the peo-'ple had ever given any authority to treat, no 'ſuch treaty could poſſibly be made.'

The conſul, finding himſelf reſtrained, by the tribunes of the people, from tranſporting to Africa what forces he had prepared, ſailed thither himſelf a few days after: for the whole army had, according to the agreement, retired out of Numidia; and were now in their winter quarters in our province. When he arrived there, he had, indeed, an ardent paſſion to march againſt Jugurtha; and thence ſoften the popular aſperity towards his brother: but having learned the temper of the ſoldiery, that, beſides their abaſement from the late

rout, they were void of diſcipline, and ſunk in licentiouſneſs and debauchery; he concluded, upon a full view of his motives and diſcouragements, that it behoved him to attempt nothing.

At Rome, the while, Caius Mamilius Limetanus, one of the tribunes, recommended to the people the form of an ordinance, 'For arraigning 'all ſuch as had encouraged Jugurtha to diſregard the decrees of the ſenate; all ſuch as, in 'their embaſſies to him, or in their conducting the 'war againſt him, had accepted money from him; 'all ſuch as had been concerned in reſtoring him 'his elephants and deſerters; together with all 'who had preſumed to enter into capitulations 'with the public enemy concerning peace or 'war.'

They who were alarmed by this popular ordinance, durſt not openly oppoſe it: ſome were conſcious, that they deſerved it; others feared ſinking under the heat and odium of party: inſomuch that both ſorts avowed their approbation of this and the like proſecutions. Yet, by ſecret caballing amongſt their friends and dependants, chiefly amongſt thoſe of Latium, and the other confederates in Italy, they contrived many obſtacles to defeat it. But it is wonderful to recount, how paſſionately the populace eſpouſed, with what mighty ardour they directed, authoriſed, and paſſed, the ordinance; in truth, rather from hatred to the nobility, againſt whom all this terrible chaſtiſement was contrived, than out of any zeal for the commonweal. So irreſiſtible was the fury of party!

Now, whilſt the reſt of the nobility were ſtruck with diſmay, Marcus Scaurus, who had been lieutenant-general to Baeſtia, as I have above related, brought it to paſs, during the general uproar and agitation over the whole city, between the tumultuous rejoicings of the populace, and the fear and flight of his brethren the patricians, that, as the Mamilian ordinance appointed three truſtees for putting it in force, he himſelf was choſen one of them. The arraignments followed; and were, indeed, conducted with great aſperity, by a courſe of violence, in condeſcenſion to the mad clamour of the multitude: ſo that, what the nobility had often done, the commonalty at this conjuncture did; and exerciſed ſuperior fortune with notable inſolence.

It muſt be owned, that this diſtinction of the people and the ſenate into oppoſite factions, with all the evil courſes following, aroſe at Rome, not many years before; and was the effect of profound repoſe, and of the profuſe enjoyment of whatever paſſes amongſt men for the prime bleſſings of life. For, before the deſtruction of Carthage, the people and ſenate proceeded with much quiet and concord in the joint adminiſtration of the ſtate: neither was there any ſtruggle between citizens and citizens for priority in exceſſive ſplendor, or exceſſive ſway. Common dread of enemies abroad preſerved decent demeanour in the whole community: but, as ſoon as the dread forſook the minds of men, then inſtantly ruſhed in ambition and debauchery, exceſſes which proſperity delights in. Inſomuch that what they had ſo paſſionately wiſh-

ed, in public danger and war, a ſtate of peace and repoſe; now they had obtained it, proved more deſtructive and calamitous than either; ſince, thenceforth, the nobility began to turn their dignity into tyranny; the people their liberty into licentiouſneſs: individuals, conſidering only themſelves, ſtudied nothing but to ingroſs property, and to uſurp power.

Thus, whilſt, by one party or the other, the means of power were boldly claimed, ſeized, and uſurped, the commonwealth, lying between both, was rent and defaced. It muſt, however, be owned, that, in the efforts of faction, the nobility proved much more prevalent: the authority of the populace, as it is looſe and diffuſed, was found to be of inferior force in the hands of the multitude. Hence war abroad, and civil affairs at Rome, were only conducted by the ſway of a few: in their diſpoſal lay the treaſury, the provinces, the ſeveral magiſtracies, public dignities and triumphs. The commonalty were oppreſſed with penury, and with ſerving in the armies, where all the plunder of the foe was purloined by the generals, and a few grandees. Nay, the parents and little children of theſe very ſoldiers were, at the ſame time, driven out of their rightful ſettlements, if they chanced but to border upon any man of ſway.

In this manner did power, ſupporting rapaciouſneſs without meaſure or reſtraint, ſwallow, contaminate, and lay waſte, all things: a power which proved utterly regardleſs of whatever was juſt, or whatever was ſacred; and thus hurried headlong

to its own perdition: for, the moment that, from amongſt the nobility, there aroſe ſuch as preferred glory to unrighteous rule, the ſtate was in an uproar; and ſuch civil feuds enſued, as if the univerſe had been tumbling into a chaos.

For, after Tiberius Gracchus, and his brother Caius, men whoſe anceſtors had, by their ſervice in the Punic and ſeveral other wars, procured ſignal advantage to the commonweal, attempted to recover to the people their antient liberties, and to expoſe to public view the iniquity and encroachments of a few domineering grandees; the nobility, conſcious of their own guilt, and thence ſorely diſmayed, had recourſe ſometimes to the aid of our Italian allies, and to ſuch as enjoyed the rights of Latium; ſometimes to the Roman knights (whom the hopes of a confederacy in power with the patricians had detached from the intereſt of the commonalty); and, thus aſſiſted, ſet themſelves forcibly to defeat the purſuits of the Gracchi. Firſt they aſſaſſinated Tiberius; in a few years after, Caius, who was reviving the attempts of his brother, and with him Marcus Fulvius Flaccus: the firſt, whilſt yet inveſted with the ſacred character of tribune; and the two laſt, with the triumviral authority of ſettling colonies. Without doubt both brothers were too vehemently bent to triumph over their adverſaries, and wanted a ſpirit of moderation; ſince it is more eligible to yield to oppoſition, than, by unjuſt means, to conquer it.

The nobility, having thus prevailed, exerciſed their proſperity juſt according to their own wan-

ton caprice; and, doomed numbers of citizens to execution, numbers to baniſhment, opened to themſelves, for the time to come, a much greater ſource of dread than of power: a ſort of politics which hath uſually brought ſeveral mighty ſtates to perdition; whilſt the factious ſubjects ſtrove, by whatever means, to ſubdue each other, and to inflict terrible vengeance upon ſuch as were ſubdued. But time would fill me ſooner than matter, were I, minutely, or in a manner ſuitable to ſo copious a ſubject, to recount the croſs purſuits and animoſities of our parties, with a detail of the proceedings of our citizens: I, therefore, reſume my deſign.

After the treaty made by Aulus, and the infamous flight of our army, Metellus and Silanus, now choſen conſuls, having ſhared the provinces between them, Numidia fell to Metellus; a man of vigorous ſpirit; his reputation unblemiſhed; nay, equally valued by both parties, though he oppoſed that of the people.

He, as ſoon as he began his function, bent all his thoughts upon the war, which he only was to conduct: for he conſidered, that, in all other duties of that magiſtracy, his collegue bore an equal part. He, therefore, made freſh levies (for he could not depend upon the old army); called together ſuccours from all quarters; provided ſtore of arms, of horſes, and of all other warlike implements and weapons; as alſo abundant magazines of victuals; finally, whatever elſe experience finds ſerviceable in a war which required various management, and craved many things to ſupport

it. It muſt be owned, that, in accompliſhing all theſe meaſures, he was aſſiſted, with notable zeal, by the ſenate; whence followed that of our allies; particularly all thoſe of the Latin denomination: nay, our confederate kings, unaſked, ſupplied him with forces: in a word, he found the ſame warm concurrence from all orders of men at Rome. So that, all things being furniſhed and concerted according to his own wiſhes, he proceeded to Numidia, followed with high hopes from all his fellow-citizens; not only for his excellent accompliſhments, but chiefly as he poſſeſſed a ſoul never to be ſubdued by all the ſtimulations of riches. It was, indeed, from the rapaciouſneſs of our magiſtrates, that all our efforts in Numidia had, till this time, been baffled, and thoſe of the enemy ſucceſsful.

Now, when he arrived at Africa, he had delivered to him the army of the proconſul Spurius Albinus; a ſpiritleſs army, and unwarlike; neither able to ſuffer fatigue, nor to encounter danger; more petulant with their tongues, than prompt with their hands: ſpoiling our friends and allies, yet bearing to ſee themſelves the ſpoil of the public enemy; trained neither to obey command, nor to regard the rules of decency: ſo that there accrued more anxiety to the general from the ſcandalous inſufficiency of the men, than any ſupport, or, indeed, any confidence, from their numbers. But though, by the annual elections being poſtponed, Metellus not only ſaw the ſummer already far advanced, but conſidered the minds of the Romans, bent upon the iſſue, and thence full of ex-

pectation from him; yet he determined to engage in no operation of war, till he had firſt reſtored the antient diſcipline, and forced the ſoldiers to endure labour, by enuring them to it.

For, after Albinus, utterly diſmayed with the overthrow of his brother Aulus and his army, had formed a reſolution not to ſtir out of the province, during ſo much of the ſummer as he continued in command, he kept the ſoldiers chiefly confined within his own camp, till ſtench and contagion, or ſcarcity of forage, conſtrained him to ſhift: moreover, in the camp no regular watch was kept, nor guard poſted; ſuch as the laws of an army always require: the men abandoned their enſigns, juſt as they liſted: the low retainers to the camp, in conjunction with the ſoldiers, wandered abroad nights and days, ravaging the fields, forcing and robbing the farms, and vying with each other in the droves of beaſts and captives; all which they turned into traffic with the merchants for wine, and ſuch other gratifications: nay, they even ſold the grain given them at the public expence, and lived upon bread bought from day to day. To ſum up all, whatever exceſſes in luxury and effeminacy the tongue can expreſs, or the fancy feign, were found in that army: nay, more and greater were found.

Now, in contending with all this diſorder and diſtreſs, Metellus appears, to me, to have approved himſelf a man no leſs great and wiſe, than in his ſchemes and operations of war: ſo juſt was the temper and balance which he held, between his addreſs to win the hearts of the ſoldiers, and

his ſeverity in puniſhing them: by an edict, which he publiſhed at firſt, he removed the principal incitements and ſupports of effeminacy, by ordering, 'That none ſhould preſume to ſell, in the camp, 'either bread, or any other victuals ready dreſſed: 'no refuſe-retainers ſhould follow the camp: no 'common ſoldiers ſhould entertain any ſlave, or 'any beaſt of burden, either in the camp, or on 'a march.' To other exceſſes, too, he applied proper reſtraints with great addreſs. Beſides, he was daily ſhifting ſtations; taking his route through croſs and unpractiſed places, with the ſame circumſpection as if an enemy had been at hand; cauſed, every night, an intrenchment to be made, and a paliſade to be raiſed, quite round the camp; poſted many guards; changed them frequently; nay, conſtantly viſited them all round in perſon, accompanied by the generals under him. With the ſame vigilance, during a march, he was now in the front, then ſtrait in the rear, anon in the centre; ſtill careful, that no man ſhould forſake his rank, that they ſhould be all found keeping cloſe by their ſeveral ſtandards, that every man ſhould at once carry his victuals and his arms: inſomuch that, rather by reſtraining enormities, than by puniſhing them, he eſtabliſhed ſound diſcipline and vigour in the army.

As Jugurtha, the while, had learned, from his emiſſaries, what meaſures Metellus was purſuing, and having been withal convinced, at Rome, of his untainted honour, he came to diſtruſt the tendency of his own affairs; and now, at length, ſeriouſly ſought to be admitted to an abſolute ſub-

miſſion: he, therefore, diſpatched certain envoys to the conſul, with a tender of his offers and requeſts, and a power to deliver up all to the Roman people, without any other reſerve or conceſſion, than that of his own life, and the lives of his children.

Now Metellus, who had always found the Numidians to be a faithleſs race, full of fickleneſs and eager for revolutions, applied to the envoys one by one; and when, by artfully ſifting each apart, he perceived them all to be ſuch inſtruments as he wanted, he engaged them, by the force of mighty promiſes, to deliver him up Jugurtha, alive, if poſſible; or, if that failed, to kill him, and to bring, at leaſt, his carcaſe. For a formal anſwer to their embaſſy, he called them publicly before him; and there declared what conditions he ordered them to carry to their king. Then, in a few days, he advanced to Numidia, at the head of a well-ſpirited army, breathing war and conqueſt: there, far from any deſolation, or the uſual ſad ſymptoms of war, the country-houſes were full of inhabitants; in the fields the flocks were feeding, and the huſbandmen all employed. From the cities and hamlets the king's officers advanced to meet the conſul; declaring their readineſs to furniſh him and his army with grain, with carriages and convoys, and, indeed, to comply with whatever he ſhould chuſe to enjoin them. Yet, for all this, Metellus relaxed not his care; but, juſt as if the enemy had been cloſe by him, kept his ranks, as he marched, compact and firm; and cauſed the country, on all hands, to be viewed a

great way round; as he believed all theſe ſigns of ſubmiſſion to be only for amuſement and ſhew, all concerted to cover ſome pernicious plot of Jugurtha's.

Metellus, therefore, accompanied with the cohorts lightly armed, and a choice band of ſlingers and archers, kept always in the front; whilſt Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, at the head of the cavalry, ſupported the rear; and, on each wing, he diſpoſed the auxiliary horſe, commanded by the tribunes of the legions, and the colonies of the cohorts; with deſign that, as the light foot were mixed amongſt theſe, the enemy's cavalry, on whatever quarter they attacked, might be certainly repulſed. For ſuch was the ſubtile ſpirit of Jugurtha, ſo ſignal his abilities, as a captain, and ſo complete his knowlege of the country, that it remained a doubt, whether he were more miſchievous, remote or near; when profeſſing peace, or when making open war.

Not far from the route, which Metellus kept, there was a Numidian city, called Vacca; by much the moſt renowned for commerce in all the kingdom; and in it were many Italians, as well ſuch who dwelt conſtantly there, as ſuch who reſorted thither for traffic. Here the conſul eſtabliſhed a garriſon; either to try whether the ſame would be quietly borne, or that he was pleaſed with the convenience and ſituation of the place. He likewiſe ordered the natives to bring him thither quantities of grain, with other neceſſaries for proſecuting the war: for he was convinced, that, from ſuch a conflux of traders, and ſuch plenty of

ſtores, his army would be amply ſupplied, and the poſt itſelf ſerve to ſecure the execution of the meaſures already concerted.

During theſe tranſactions, Jugurtha, redoubling his applications to the conſul, ſtill ſent ambaſſadors after ambaſſadors, with repeated ſupplications, imploring peace; nay, reſerving only his life, and that of his children, offered to ſurrender whatever elſe he had. The conſul, without either granting or denying the king the peace which he thus intreated, ſent him all theſe his ambaſſadors back again, as he had the firſt; awaiting, the while, the execution of what they had undertaken; for he had firſt engaged them all to betray their maſter into his hands.

When Jugurtha compared the words of Metellus with his actions, and perceived himſelf aſſailed, in his turn, by devices like his own, ſince, whilſt he was preſented with the ſound of peace, he was, in fact, purſued with all the fury of war; when he ſaw himſelf bereft of ſo powerful a city, his territories well known by the enemy, the people, in general, urged to revolt; thus conſtrained by his deſperate fortune, he determined to try the chance of a battle. With this view, having learned the route taken by the Romans, and gathering hopes of victory from the advantages which the country afforded him, he formed a numerous hoſt of all ſorts of men, and, by private ways, out-marched the army of Metellus.

In that part of Numidia which had fallen to the ſhare of Atherbal, was a river, flowing from the South, called Muthul: parallel to this is a mountain, a-

bout twenty miles diſtant, and of equal extent; naturally deſert, and never ſubjected to human culture. In the intermediate ſpace, about the middle, ariſes a hill immenſly high; all covered over with olives, myrtles, and other trees, ſuch as grow in a dry and ſandy ſoil: the plain itſelf is deſtitute of water, and thence barren; except ſuch parts as join to the river; and in theſe are found many groves, with numerous herds and inhabitants. Of this hill, which flanked the Romans, as they marched from the mountain to the river, Jugurtha took poſſeſſion, forming his men in a thin, but long front; and, committing to Bomilcar the command of the elephants, and of part of the foot, with inſtructions how to act, he ſat down himſelf nearer the mountain, with all the horſe, and the flower of the infantry.

He then paſſed through the ſeveral diviſions of foot and horſe; warning and conjuring them all, 'That rouſing their wonted bravery, and remembering their late victory, they ſhould defend themſelves, and their native kingdom, from the avidity of the Romans. They went only to encounter ſuch as they had already firſt vanquiſhed, and then forced to paſs, like captives, under a gibbet; ſuch as, poſſeſſing ſtill the ſame daſtardly ſpirits, had changed nothing but their leader. For himſelf, whatever meaſures it was incumbent upon a general to take for the ſecurity and ſucceſs of his army, he had taken; and, particularly, gained them the advantage of the ground; whence they, who knew it well, were to engage with thoſe who were ſtrangers to it:

'he had thus provided againſt an unequal attack 'from numbers upon a few, or from ſoldiers of 'ſuperior ſkill upon ſuch as were raw. They 'ſhould, therefore, upon a ſignal given, aſſail 'the Romans with vigour: this day would either 'cloſe all their labours, and ſecure the fruit of 'all their victories, or introduce a dreadful train 'of calamities.' Next, addreſſing himſelf, man by man, to all ſuch as he had formerly diſtinguiſhed, for any ſignal military exploits, with honours, or pecuniary gifts; he urged them to remember what proofs of his grace they had received; then pointed them out as patterns to others. In a word, applying to all, ſuitable to the character of each, here promiſing, there threatening, anon adjuring, he animated the whole.

Metellus, the while, deſcending from the mountain with his army, as yet unappriſed of the motions of the enemy, at laſt deſcries their ſtation upon the hill. He, at firſt, was at a loſs to gueſs what meant a ſpectacle ſo unuſual; for the Numidians were poſted, men and horſes, in the coppice; but, through the lowneſs of the buſhes, not quite concealed, nor yet enough diſcerned; ſince, by the obſcurity of the place, as well as by their own lurking and contrivance, they had diſguiſed themſelves, and their ſtandards: but, ſoon perceiving it to be the enemy in ambuſh, he, for a ſmall ſpace, ſtayed his march; and, changing the diſpoſition of his army, trebled the flank next the foe, diſperſed the archers and ſlingers amongſt the ſmall bands of foot, placed his whole cavalry on the wings, and, having encouraged them by a

ſhort ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency, led them, in this new order, down towards the plain.

But, when he obſerved the Numidians moved not, nor offered to ſtir from the hill, he apprehended, both from the heat of the ſeaſon, and the great ſcarcity of water, that his army would be diſtreſſed by thirſt: he, therefore, ordered his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with a detachment of horſe, and the cohorts lightly armed, to advance to the river; there to pre-occupy ground proper to encamp on: for he judged, that the enemy would, by continual ſkirmiſhing, eſpecially by attacking him on the flank, ſtrive to obſtruct his progreſs, and hold his men continually haraſſed under toil and thirſt; ſince they thus diſtruſted their ſucceſs in a battle. He then advanced with the reſt of the army; but with a gentle pace, ſuitable to the conjuncture, and the ground; juſt as he had done in deſcending from the mountain; having poſted Marius in the main battle, and himſelf on the left wing, at the head of the cavalry; which, in the manner they marched, was come to be the front.

Jugurtha no ſooner perceived the rear of the Romans advancing beyond the firſt rank of the Numidians, but he ſent a detachment of two thouſand foot, to poſſeſs the part of the mountain from whence Metellus had juſt deſcended; that the ſame might not ſerve the Romans for a preſent refuge, if they fled, nor afterwards for a place of ſecurity: then inſtantly ſounding to battle, he aſſailed the Romans; and, whilſt many of his men ſlaughtered our rear, others preſſed our right

and left: they came on with fury, fought with vigour, and every-where diſconcerted our ranks; even where they were ſuppoſed to be the braveſt men; who found themſelves baffled by an attack ſo irregular and uncertain, were wounded from afar, and could not return blow for blow, or engage hand to hand: for the Numidian horſe, preinſtructed by Jugurtha, whenever any of the Roman advanced againſt them, retreated immediately; not in cloſe order, or, indeed, in a body, but all ſcattering as wide as poſſible. Hence, when, notwithſtanding all this, they could not divert us from purſuing them; yet, as they ſurpaſſed us alſo in number, they beſet us in the rear, or in the flank, and aſſaulting us there, put us into great diſorder: and when, in order to eſcape us, the hill ſeemed more ſecure and inviting than the plain, their horſes eaſily retreated thither, as they were daily enured to paſs through thickets; whilſt a ſituation ſo ſteep and difficult withheld ours from following them.

In truth, from the whole tranſaction there aroſe a ſpectacle ſtrangly diverſified and perplexed; very lamentable, very ſhocking; ſome yielding, others purſuing; all diſperſed, and ſeparate from their fellows; no obſervance of ranks, none of ſtandards; each grappling with danger, and repulſing the foe, juſt as either happened to occur; a wild mixture of arms and darts, of men and horſes, of enemies and fellow-citizens; nothing conducted by concert, nor by authority, but blind chance governing all. Inſomuch that, though the

day was already far advanced, the event was ſtill very doubtful.

At length, when both ſides were ſpent with the violence of heat and fatigue, Metellus, perceiving the Numidians to attack with abated vigour, rallied his men by little and little; and, having reſtored their former compactneſs and ranks, ranged four legionary cohorts againſt the Numidian infantry, who, overcome with wearineſs, had, for the greater part, retired, for repoſe, to the higher ground. He, moreover, beſought and exhorted the ſoldiers, 'On no account to be daunted; nor ſuffer a flying enemy to carry the victory: they themſelves, 'if they turned their backs, had neither retrenchments nor caſtles to retire to: in their arms alone all their hopes and ſecurity reſted.'

Neither was Jugurtha, the while, unactive. He was going continually about from quarter to quarter: he animated his forces; again and again renewed the attack; and, at the head of ſome choſen troops, tried every poſſible expedient; ſeaſonably reinforced his own men, where moſt preſſed; furiouſly urged the Romans, where they wavered; and, by flight of darts from afar, diverted ſuch who ſtill ſtood firm.

In this manner was the field conteſted between the two generals, both conſummate officers; themſelves of equal abilities, but their forces unequal. Metellus commanded brave ſoldiers in a perverſe ſituation: Jugurtha poſſeſſed all other advantages, but that of ſoldiers. At length the Romans, convinced that no place of refuge was left them; that the enemy ſtill ſhunned all occaſions of engaging; ſee-

ing withal the night approach, bravely advanced up the hill, according to the orders of the general, and gained it. The Numidians, bereft of their ground, were immediately routed, and fled; yet very few ſlain. What ſaved moſt of them, was their own ſwiftneſs of foot, and the country quite ſtrange to their enemies.

During theſe tranſactions, Bomilcar, whom I have already mentioned to have been appointed by Jugurtha to command the elephants, and part of the foot, no ſooner obſerved Rutilius to have marched by him, but, by gentle movements, he drew out his men into the plain; and there, without interruption, imbattled them according to the exigency of the time and place; whilſt the Roman lieutenant-general was marching full pace to the river, whither he was ſent forward by the conſul. Neither did Bomilcar fail to inform himſelf what ſteps the Romans took on every ſide. Now, when he had learned, that Rutilius was already encamped, and void of all apprehenſion; perceiving, moreover, the uproar to increaſe in Jugurtha's hoſt, and thence ſolicitous, leſt the lieutenant-general, upon diſcovering the diſtreſs of our men, ſtill dangerouſly engaged in the fight, might move to their relief; he preſently changed the order of his battle; which, diſtruſting the ſufficiency of his ſoldiers, he had formed of a body extremely condenſe; but now looſened and extended it in front, in order to hinder Rutilius from marching.

In this order he advanced directly towards the camp of Rutilius. The Romans there beheld a

mighty duſt to ariſe on a ſudden: for, the buſhes which covered the country obſtructing their view of the Numidians, they, at firſt, ſuppoſed it to be the effect of the wind, raiſing and driving the dry ſoil. Preſently, when they ſaw it continue in equal agitation and thickneſs, and approach nearer and nearer, in proportion to the motion of the army, perceiving what it portended, they armed, with great celerity; and arrayed themſelves, as they were ordered, before their camp.

When the enemy drew near, they encountered on both ſides with mighty ſhouts. The Numidians maintained the combat juſt as long as they truſted to the aid of the elephants: the moment they ſaw theſe beaſts hampered amongſt the arms of trees, vanquiſhed and ſurrounded by our men, they fled outright: indeed, the greater part, having caſt away their arms, eſcaped, unhurt, by the advantage of the hill, or of the night, which now approached. Four elephants were taken: all the reſt, forty in number, were ſlain.

For the Romans, however tired with their march, with fortifying their camp, laſtly, with the battle; and however pleaſed with the iſſue; yet, as Metellus tarried beyond their expectation, they advanced to meet him, in regular array, and full of ſpirit: ſince ſuch was the ſubtilty of the Numidians, as to leave no room for inactivity, none for remiſſneſs. When they were near met, both ſides, deceived by the drakneſs of the night, and miſtaking the noiſe, which each made, for that of an approaching enemy, mutually occaſioned no ſmall

commotion and alarm: nay, from this raſh conceit, deplorable miſchiefs were like to have followed; had not certain horſemen, purpoſely ſent out by each, diſcovered the true cauſe. Hence ſudden gladneſs ſucceeded fear: now the ſoldiers, full of joy, calling to one another by name, mutually recount their late exploits, and hear them recounted; and every particular extols his own brave atchievements to the ſkies. Such is the courſe of human things! After victory the very cowards are allowed to boaſt: a defeat brings blemiſh even upon the brave.

Metellus, who continued four days in the ſame camp, carefully cheriſhed the wounded; preſented the uſual military rewards to ſuch as had well acquitted themſelves in the late battles; commended the whole army, purpoſely aſſembled; and publicly thanked them; then exhorted them 'To 'purſue, with equal bravery, what remained 'further to be accompliſhed; a taſk which they 'would find very light. They had already fought 'ſo as to gain abundant victory: their future fa-'tigues would only be to accumulate wealth and 'plunder.' He omitted not, however, the while, to diſpatch away deſerters, and other proper inſtruments, 'To diſcover where Jugurtha lay; how 'he was employed; whether we were ſtill maſter 'of an army; and how he bore his defeat.' In fact, the king had withdrawn into woody deſarts, places fortified by nature; and there already aſſembled an army, in number of men larger than his former, but ſpiritleſs and raw; more practiſed in tilling and paſture, than in war; a conſequence

which aroſe from hence, that, upon a defeat, none of the Numidians follow their king, except his horſe-guards only: all the reſt retire whither their ſeveral inclinations lead them. Neither doth this infer any ſtain upon their ſervice. Such are the habits and genius of the nation.

When Metellus had thus learned, that the ſpirit of the king was ſtill reſolute and untamed; that the war was to be renewed; a war, too, ſubject to be conducted juſt according to the pleaſure and caprice of Jugurtha; when he likewiſe ſaw upon what cruel terms he muſt engage enemies, that ſuffered leſs in being defeated, than he in defeating them; he determined upon the whole to purſue the war, not, as uſual, by regular attacks and battles, but in a far different manner. He, therefore, directs his march into the moſt opulent regions of Numidia; lays the country utterly waſte; takes a great number of caſtles and towns, ſuch as were careleſly fortified, or had no gariſon to defend them, and burns them all; orders all the youth to be ſlain; leaves every thing elſe as free ſpoil to the ſoldiers. Such dread followed this proceeding, that number of hoſtages were ſent him; grain, with whatever elſe an army required, was abundantly ſupplied; and, wherever he judged expedient, gariſons were allowed to be placed.

Theſe were meaſures which alarmed the king far more ſenſibly than the late battle, ſo ill maintained by his men. For now he, whoſe only hopes conſiſted in flying before us, was forced to follow us; and, though unable to defend his

own territories, yet conſtrained to make war in thoſe poſſeſſed by the Romans: nevertheleſs, he formed a deſign, which appeared moſt eligible to him in his preſent ſtraits; and, ordering the body of the army to remain encamped together, he himſelf, at the head of a choſen detachment of horſe, purſued Metellus; and, as he marched by night through ways utterly unfrequented, his coming was quite concealed. Thus he fell, with great ſuddenneſs and ſurprize, upon ſuch of our forces as roamed over the country: of theſe the moſt part, being found without arms, were ſlain: many were made priſoners; nor did a ſingle man eſcape unhurt. Nay, before any ſuccour could reach them from the camp, the Numidians, as they were pre-inſtructed, had retired to the neighbouring hills.

During theſe tranſactions, mighty joy aroſe at Rome, upon tidings of the glorious progreſs of Metellus; for that 'he had conducted himſelf, 'and his army, according to the ſtrict rules of the 'antients: under all the diſadvantage of ſoil and 'ſituation, he had yet conquered by pure fortitude 'and ability: he even poſſeſſed the enemy's coun-'try; and Jugurtha, lately elevated by the baſe 'conduct of Aulus, was, by Metellus, driven, 'for a refuge, to flight, and the deſarts.' The 'ſenate, therefore, decreed public thanks and ob-'lations to the immortal gods to be ſolemnized, 'for ſo many ſucceſsful atchievements.' The city was now filled with rejoicings, as hitherto with anxiety for the reſult of the war; and Metellus was the great ſubject of popular applauſe. Hence

he ſtrove with the ſtronger efforts to obtain a final victory; puſhed and quickened every meaſure; yet ſtill with ſpecial precaution againſt all ſurprize from the enemy; and always remembering, that ever after glory marches envy. Thus the more celebrated he was, the more circumſpect he became; nor, ſince the late unforeſeen attack from Jugurtha, did he ſuffer his army to ſpread looſely in queſt of plunder. Upon every occaſion of procuring proviſions or forage, all the cavalry, ſupported by bands of foot, were employed as convoys to ſecure it. One part of the army was led by himſelf; the other by Marius. Indeed, the country was more terribly waſted by fire, than by depredations. The army, thus divided, always encamped in two different places, and, upon any exigency, rejoined; but marched and acted apart, the further to extend popular dread and flight.

All this while Jugurtha followed them upon the hills, and carefully ſought ſome favourable juncture or ſituation, to aſſail them. Whenever he heard what routes they intended, there he deſtroyed the forage, and the ſprings, of themſelves very rare. Now he preſented himſelf to Metellus, anon to Marius; ſometimes aſſaulted their rear; then, in an inſtant, retreated to the hills; but, appearing again, made a feint, this moment to fall upon one quarter, by and by upon another; never venturing to engage, yet never ceaſing to alarm them; ſtill only aiming to fruſtrate the attempts of the Romans.

The Roman general, perceiving the deſign of the enemy to be only to harraſs him with continual artifice and ſurprize, and to elude all occaſion of battle, formed a deſign to beſiege a mighty city; indeed, the bulwark of the kingdom on that ſide, known by the name of Zama; as he judged, that Jugurtha would do what was incumbent upon him, and advance to relieve his people there, hardly preſſed by an enemy, and thence an engagement would enſue.

But Jugurtha, having learned, from deſerters, what was determined, by mighty marches reached there before Metellus; and applying to the inhabitants, exhorted them bravely to defend their walls, and ſtrengthened them with a reinforcement of the Roman deſerters; who, as they durſt not betray him, were the moſt determined of all the king's forces. Beſides, he promiſed, in due time, to return to their relief in perſon, at the head of an army.

When he had thus ſettled meaſures there, he withdrew into places the moſt ſolitary and unfrequented; where, ſoon after learning, that Marius was, with a few cohorts, detached from the army as it marched, to bring proviſions from Sicca; a town which, firſt of all others, had revolted from the king, immediately after his evil ſucceſs in battle: thither he now advances by night, accompanied with the flower of his cavalry, and fell upon the Romans, juſt as they were returning through the gate. He, at the ſame time, cried to the townſmen with a loud voice, 'To beſet the co'horts in the rear: here was an occaſion offered

'to them, by fortune, for a glorious atchieve-
'ment: if they performed it, he ſhould thence-
'forth enjoy his kingdom, as would they their
'liberties, without moleſtation or alarm.' Nay, had not Marius, with notable celerity, advanced the ſtandards, and got clear of the town, doubtleſs the whole inhabitants of Sicca, at beſt the greateſt part, would again have changed their allegiance: ſuch a ſtrange ſpirit of inſtability actuates the Numidians in all their conduct! But the troops of Jugurtha, who, animated and ſupported by him, had, for a ſmall time, continued the combat, as ſoon as they found themſelves urged by the Romans with ſuperior vigour, retired in open flight, when but few had yet fallen.

Marius proceeded, and arrived before Zama. The town was built in a plain, ſtronger by bulwarks than by ſituation, deſtitute of no neceſſary ſtores, abounding in arms, and in men. Now Metellus, when he had concerted all his meaſures, ſuitably to the juncture and undertaking, encompaſſing the walls with his army, aſſigned to his lieutenants their ſeveral ſtations and command: then ſtrait, upon the ſignal given, aroſe a loud and univerſal ſhout. Yet all this diſmayed not the Numidians: full of fierceneſs, and reſolute in their defence, they waited the attack, without ſurprize or uproar. The encounter followed: in it the Romans fought, each according to his particular bent; ſome at a diſtance with ſtones and ſlings; ſome attacked and retired, others ſupplied their place: here they undermined the walls; there

they planted ladders againſt them; all paſſionate to engage the enemy hand to hand.

The townſmen, to defeat ſo many aſſaults, rolled down great ſtones upon ſuch as ventured neareſt; and darted ſharp ſtakes and javelins, with flaming torches of pitch and ſulphur. Nor, indeed, did ſuch of our men, who kept far off, find ſecurity in their cowardice; for moſt of them were wounded by miſſive weapons, thrown by engines, or by force of arm. So that the cowards ſhared equal danger with the brave; but with unequal glory.

Whilſt this bloody ſtruggle was ſtill ſubſiſting at Zama, Jugurtha, with a mighty band, aſſails, by ſurprize, the Roman camp: nay, ſo utterly negligent were thoſe left to guard it; indeed, apprehending any thing, rather than an attack; that he even forced his entrance at one of the gates.

Our men, ſtruck with ſudden diſmay, all tried to ſecure themſelves, each according to his different character: ſome had recourſe to flight, others to their arms; and a great part were wounded or ſlain: in fact, amongſt all that multitude of armed men, there were only forty found, who ſhewed the ſpirit of Romans. Theſe, cloſing together, poſted themſelves upon a riſing ground, from whence the moſt furious efforts of their enemies could not drive them; nay, what darts and javelins were thrown at them, they returned with more ſucceſs; as a few could aim with more certainty than a ſuperior number. Or, if the Numidians ventured a nearer attack, then theſe few exerted their invincible bravery; ſlaughtering, rout-

ing, and putting them to flight, with wonderful ſpirit.

Metellus, the while, as he was purſuing the aſſault of Zama with the utmoſt vigour, heard an uproar and ſhouts behind him, like thoſe of an enemy; and, turning his horſe, perceived men flying towards him; a ſure indication, that they were his own. He, therefore, inſtantly diſpatched the whole cavalry with expedition to the camp; and, anon, Caius Marius, with the confederate cohorts. He even beſought them with tears, 'By 'the dearneſs of their mutual friendſhip, by that 'of the commonweal, not to ſuffer ſuch infamy 'to ſtain a victorious army, nor the enemy to 'eſcape, without repaying them due vengeance.' Marius executed his orders with great diſpatch.

Now Jugurtha, attacked in his turn, found himſelf and his people embarraſſed in our intrenchments: ſome of them flung themſelves over the paliſade: the reſt, in crouds preſſing to get out, as the paſſages were too narrow, and each ſtrove to be firſt, all hampered and obſtructed one another: ſo that, after a great loſs of men, he retired to ſtrong and inacceſſible places. Metellus, having failed in his attempt upon the town, returned with his army to the camp.

The next day, before he left it, to return to the aſſault, he drew out all his horſe without the camp; with orders to guard that ſide expoſed to inſults from Jugurtha: the guard of the gates, and poſts adjoining, he diſtributed among the tribunes. He then advanced towards the town, and aſſaulted the walls the ſame way as the day before.

Then Jugurtha, ruſhing from his covert, all on a ſudden aſſails our men. Thoſe of the advanced ranks were ſomewhat affrighted, and put into diſorder, but quickly ſuccoured by the reſt; nor could the Numidians have maintained their ground a moment longer, had not their foot, now mingled with their horſe, made great havock amongſt us: for the horſemen, relying on aid from the foot, did not here, as their horſe-men were wont, advance and retire by turns, but ſteadily puſhed forward, grappled with our troops, and broke them; then left them, nigh quite vanquiſhed, to be diſpatched by their foot, who found it an eaſy taſk.

During this very time, mighty was the conflict at Zama. Wherever any of the conſul's lieutenants, or wherever any tribune was poſted, there each exerted the higheſt bravery: all rather truſted for victory to their own perſonal atchievements, than to any aid from their fellows. The townſmen, too, acquitted themſelves with equal ardour; boldly repulſing the aſſailants, and every-where warmly engaged in all the methods of defence. In truth, both the beſiegers and the beſieged ſought more eagerly to deſtroy their enemies, than to ſhield and protect themſelves. Various and confuſed were the cries that continually aroſe; here of exhortations, there of joy, elſewhere of groans. The clangor of arms reached the ſky; on all hands darts flew thick and faſt.

Now wherever they who maintained the walls, found the vigour of the aſſailants ever ſo little to abate, they ſtood ſtill, with great earneſtneſs, to

behold the battle between the cavalry: nay, you might have perceived them now exulting, anon diſmayed, according to the various ſucceſs attending the arms of Jugurtha; and, juſt as if they could have been diſtinctly heard or ſeen by theſe their countrymen and friends, ſome warned and adviſed them, others urged and exhorted them, at leaſt beckoned to them with their hands, and ſwayed their bodies hither and thither, as if they, too, had been actually throwing darts, or avoiding them.

Marius, who commanded on that ſide, obſerving this, artfully ſlackened his attack, and feigned to ſeem hopeleſs of ſucceſs. He even left the Numidians at leiſure, without interruption or alarm, to view the king thus engaged. Then, whilſt their eyes and attention were fixed with much zeal upon their friends, he made a ſudden and vehement effort to maſter the walls; nay, the ſoldiers had already, by their ſcaling ladders, nigh gained the battlements, when the beſieged flew to their defence, and poured upon the beſiegers whole vollies of ſtones and fire, beſides ſhowers of all ſorts of deadly weapons. Our men, for ſome time, maintained themſelves againſt all: anon, as ſeveral of the ladders broke, and ſuch who ſtood upon them were, by tumbling headlong, mortally bruiſed, the reſt diſengaged themſelves, and retreated each as he could; hardly any unhurt, moſt of them covered with wounds. Night ſoon after ſeparated the combatants, both at the ſiege and in the field.

Metellus, ſeeing his enterprize fail, the town not taken, Jugurtha reſolved never to engage, un-

leſs by ſurprize, or in poſts of advantage, and the ſummer already ſpent, departed from before Zama; and proceeded to place gariſons in the ſeveral cities which had revolted to him; at leaſt, in ſuch as were naturally ſtrong, or well fortified; then ſettled his remaining forces, for the winter, in thoſe parts of our province, where it joins to Numidia. Neither did he conſign his time there, as others had done, to inaction, or a courſe of delicacy: for, having tried how ſlowly the war was advanced by fighting only, he concerted how to defeat the king by domeſtic treaſon; and, inſtead of arms, to employ againſt him the treachery of his confidents.

He, therefore, applies to Bomilcar, with infinite promiſes; and, indeed, ſtrait prevailed with him to come to a private conference. There Metellus pledged his credit, 'That, if he would deliver Ju-'gurtha into his hands, either alive or dead, he 'would ſecure to him abſolute pardon from the 'ſenate, together with the certain enjoyment of 'his whole fortune.' For Bomilcar had attended Jugurtha, as his miniſter, to Rome; and, falling under proſecution there for the murder of Maſſiva, had fled thence from juſtice, and abandoned his ſureties; and as he held the higheſt truſt with the king, he had the greateſt opportunities to betray him. The conſul found it not difficult to engage the Numidian in the undertaking; for he was a man naturally faithleſs, and now terrified with the apprehenſion, that, were peace made with the Romans, he himſelf ſhould be excepted, and ſurrendered into the hands of the executioner.

This man, who watched for the firſt convenient hour, finding Jugurtha full of anguiſh, and deploring his ſad lot, accoſted him with a flood of tears; then warned and adjured him to conſider, 'That it was time to conſult the intereſt and well-being of himſelf, of his offspring, and of the people of Numidia; a people ſo devoted to him, and ſuch ſufferers for him. In every encounter he had been vanquiſhed; the country was deſolate; great numbers of his ſubjects were made captives, great numbers ſlain; and the ſtrength of the monarchy exhauſted. Already he had abundantly tried both the bravery of his men, and the inclination of fortune. It now behoved him to beware, leſt, whilſt he t. us lingered, the Numidian nation might have recourſe to meaſures of ſafety for themſelves.'

By theſe, and the like repreſentations, he brought the king to yield to an abſolute ſubmiſſion. Immediately ambaſſadors were ſent to the Roman commander, to declare, that Jugurtha was prepared to comply with whatever he ſhould injoin; nay, to ſurrender himſelf, and his kingdom, without reſerve, to the diſpoſal of the conſul. Metellus forthwith ſummoned to council, from their winter quarters, all who were inveſted with the rank of ſenators; and heard the advice of theſe, and of others, whom he judged proper to conſult.

The conſul, thus proceeding according to antient rules, and following an order of council then made, ſent deputies to Jugurtha, commanding him, 'To deliver over to the Romans two hundred thouſand weight of ſilver, all his elephants, with

'a certain number of horſes and arms.' As all this was executed without delay, he further ordered 'All our deſerters to be brought him in chains.' Indeed, moſt of them, in obedience to the order, were ſoon ſo brought: the reſt, (very few) upon Jugurtha's firſt advances towards a ſurrender, had fled into Mauritania, for protection from king Bocchus.

Now, when Jugurtha, already bereft of his arms, his forces, and his treaſures, came next to be ſummoned to Tiſidium, there to deliver up his perſon to the conſul, his mind began to waver and recoil, and his guilty conſcience to dread ſuitable puniſhment. Under this heſitation he ſpent ſeveral days. Now, ſhocked with a continual courſe of calamities, he eſteemed all events whatever more eligible than war: anon, he reflected what a dreadful fall it was from ſovereignty to bondage: the reſult was, that he choſe to renew the war, when he had juſt diveſted himſelf fruitleſly of ſo many and ſo mighty ſources of ſtrength. At Rome, too, during this juncture, the ſenate, having met to deliberate concerning the diſtribution of provinces, had decreed Numidia to Metellus.

At this time Caius Marius, who happened to be at Utica, as he was offering victims to the gods, was appriſed by the diviner, 'That mighty and 'marvelous events were preſaged to him: he 'ſhould, therefore, purſue whatever deſigns he 'entertained, with full confidence in the gods for 'their accompliſhment: he might try fortune as 'freely as he pleaſed; all his efforts would be proſperous.' The truth is, he had been long be-

fore tranſported with a vehement paſſion for the conſulſhip: he was even abundantly furniſhed with every qualification for acquiring it, except only that of an antient family: he had great aſſiduity, great probity, maſterly knowlege in war, infinite ſpirit in battle, exemplary ſobriety, a ſoul ſuperior to wealth and voluptuouſneſs, and only thirſting after glory.

He was born at Arpinum, and reared there till paſt his tender age. From that moment he gave himſelf up wholly to the life of a ſoldier; without once engaging in the ſtudy of the Grecian eloquence, or in the delicacies of Rome. Hence, in a little time, this warlike genius, by a worthy courſe of improvements, grew an accompliſhed officer: ſo that when he firſt ſued to the people for the office of military tribune, though few of them knew his face, his character was ſo well known, that he gained it by the concurring voices of all the tribes: then, when he had diſcharged this magiſtracy, he opened his way gradually to others; and, in every poſt of power, his conduct was ſuch, that he ſtill was eſteemed to merit a greater.

Yet this man, ſo very deſerving, till this time, (for afterwards ambition tranſported him beyond all meaſure) had not dared to ſolicit for the conſulſhip: for, though, at this juncture, the people conferred all the other dignities of ſtate, that of conſul was by the nobility confined to themſelves: every new man, however ſhining his character, however ſignal his merits, was, by them, held to be unworthy of that ſupreme honour; nay, as it were, a perſon unhallowed.

Marius, therefore, when he perceived the anſwer from the diviner to co-operate with the bent of his own ſoul, applies to Metellus for leave to go to Rome, there to ſue for the conſulſhip. Metellus, though amply diſtinguiſhed with virtue, honour, and every recommendation pleaſing to a worthy man, yet poſſeſſed a ſpirit full of diſdain, and great haughtineſs; the common failing of the nobility! ſo that, as he was, at firſt, ſtruck with pretenſions ſo unuſual, he expreſſed great admiration at his views; and adviſed him, as in friendſhip, 'Nor to enter upon meaſures ſo unwarrantable, nor to ſuffer his mind to ſoar above his ſtation: it became not all men to aim at all things: he ought to reſt content with his preſent circumſtances. In ſhort, he ought to be aware how he demanded of the Roman people what they had reaſon to refuſe.' When he had offered theſe and the like objections, and found the mind of Marius utterly unyielding, he promiſed to comply with what he aſked, as ſoon as the ſituation of public affairs enabled him. After theſe and the like replies, as Marius perſiſted in his importunity, he is ſaid to have anſwered, 'You need be in no hurry to go: it will be early enough for you to ſue for the conſulſhip, when my ſon is of age to join with you.' This youth was then ſerving under his father, without any command, and not yet twenty years old.

This rebuke fired Marius, who was paſſionate to obtain the conſular dignity, and, therefore, equally incenſed againſt Metellus: ſo that he was driven headlong by anger and thirſt of power, two

very miſchievous counſellors. He ſpared no attempt, no language, that had the leaſt tendency to gain the multitude, and his ends; he forbore all his uſual ſtrictneſs over the troops under his command in winter quarters: he diſcourſed amongſt our traders, then in great crouds at Utica, concerning the war, in a ſtyle that highly aſperſed Metellus, and highly exalted himſelf: 'That, were but half the army conſigned over 'to him, he would, in a few days, have Jugur-'tha in chains. It was the policy of the ge-'neral to prolong the war; as he was a vain 'man, poſſeſſed of kingly pride, and fond of 'holding command.' All theſe ſuggeſtions appeared the more ſolid to thoſe traders, as, by the continuance of the war, their fortunes were much impaired; and, to an impatient ſpirit, no haſte whatſoever ſeems ſufficient.

There was, moreover, in our army, a certain Numidian named Gauda; who, as he was the ſon of Manaſtabal, and grandſon of Maſiniſſa, had been, by king Micipſa his uncle, appointed his next heir after his immediate ſucceſſors. This man, one broken with diſtempers, and thence impaired in his faculties, aiming at royal rank, had made ſuit to Metellus for a ſeat next that of the conſul; nay, afterwards for a troop of Roman horſe for his guard, and was refuſed both; the ſeat, becauſe it belonged to none but thoſe whom the Roman people diſtinguiſhed with the title of kings; the troop of horſe, becauſe of the ſcandal accruing to the Roman horſe, were any of them aſſigned as body-guards to a Numidian.

In the heat of this diſcontent, Marius accoſted him; and, urging him to apply for vengeance againſt the general, for ſuch indignities, tendered him his own intereſt to procure it. He even intoxicated the man, greatly weakened in his faculties by diſeaſes; extolled him, in a ſoothing diſcourſe, 'As a monarch, a grand perſonage, the 'grandſon of Maſiniſſa; one who, were Jugurtha once taken or ſlain, would, without any 'obſtacle, ſway the ſceptre of Numidia: an event which would preſently follow, if he himſelf were ſent as a conſul to conduct that war.'

Thus not only this Numidian, but even the Roman knights, the Roman ſoldiers, nay, the body of traders, became all engaged, ſome by the arts of Marius, moſt of them by their hopes of peace, to write to their ſeveral friends at Rome concerning the war, with keen imputations upon Metellus, and to require Marius for his ſucceſſor. Hence, great numbers of men joining to ſolicit the conſulſhip in his behalf, this concurrence of voices proved altogether honourable to him. Beſides, at this very conjuncture, the people, who, by the Mamilian law, had quite ſunk the power of the nobility, were proceeding to confer the great offices upon plebeians. Thus all things contributed to the advancement of Marius.

Jugurtha, the while, when once he had dropped his purpoſe of ſurrendering, and again begun the war, concerted all his meaſures with wonderful attention, and purſued them with infinite diſpatch. He levied an army: whatever cities had revolted from him, he ſtrove to redeem, by threats

of vengeance, or high offers of compenſation. He fortified what places he ſtill held: in room of the arms, and warlike ſtores, which, to obtain a pacification, he had abandoned to the Romans, he cauſed others to be made or purchaſed; enticed the Roman ſlaves; ſtrove, by money to corrupt ſuch of the Romans as were in gariſons: indeed, he left nothing unattempted, no quarter without commotion, and made reſtleſs efforts every-where.

One conſequence of all this was a conſpiracy at Vacca; where Metellus had placed a gariſon, immediately upon the firſt overtures of Jugurtha for a pacification. The principal citizens, teized with ſolicitations from the king, and hitherto nowiſe diſaffected towards him, combined together to relieve the city. For the populace, like the populace every-where, above all in Numidia, were eager for all public changes, prone to ſedition and diſorder, and enemies to peace and repoſe.

After they had ſettled their ſcheme, they fixed the execution for the third day following; becauſe it was a public feſtival, to be celebrated throughout all Africa; and thus more reſembled a ſeaſon of paſtime and jollity, than of diſtruſt and alarm. When the day came, the conſpirators ſeverally invited the Roman officers to their houſes, the centurions, the military tribunes, nay, even Titus Turpilius Silanus, governor of the city: ſo that each of them had his gueſt; and all theſe gueſts they butchered amidſt the feaſt; except only Turpilius; as they did next the common ſoldiers, ſtraggling at random, deſtitute of arms, and (as it was a day of rejoicing) remote from all coercion from

their officers. The populace joined in the maſſacre; ſome at the inſtigation of their ſuperiors: the reſt animated by a natural paſſion for ſuch ſavage proceedings: for, to them, all tumults, and violent revolutions, were greatly pleaſing; though ignorant of what was tranſacting, or from what view it began.

The Roman ſoldiers, beſet with peril ſo alarming, unknowing whence it proceeded, at a loſs how to behave under it, fled in diſmay towards the caſtle; for there their ſtandards and bucklers lay; but found the caſtle ſhut, and guarded by the enemy. Nor could they eſcape out of the town, as the gates were ſhut before the maſſacre began. To complete their calamity, the women and children ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other, in pouring down upon them, from the roofs of the houſes, ſtones, and ſuch other terrible materials as the ſeveral places preſented.

Thus bereft of all reſource againſt danger in ſo many ſhapes, and the braveſt men unable to withſtand the aſſaults of the weakeſt hands, they all yielded alike to the ſame common ſlaughter; the worthleſs and the worthy, the daring and the timid, without diſtinction, and unrevenged.

During a maſſacre ſo furious, whilſt the Numidians breathed unrelenting cruelty and ſlaughter; nay, when the town was on all ſides ſhut; Turpilius the governor eſcaped; the ſingle Italian that did ſo; he even eſcaped unhurt: whether ſuch ſingular fortune befel him from the humanity of his hoſt, or from colluſion, or from pure chance, I have not been able to learn: however it were,

ſince, in a calamity ſo afflicting to the ſtate, he preferred an infamous life to honour and fame, he muſt be conſidered as a wicked man, branded with laſting ignominy.

Metellus, after he had learned the diſaſter of Vacca, for a ſhort time, forbore, in the fulneſs of his anguiſh, to appear in public Anon, his indignation riſing in proportion to his grief, he uſed infinite aſſiduity to take due vengeance. He, therefore, drew out the legion which wintered with him in the ſame quarter; as alſo all the Numidian cavalry that he could poſſibly aſſemble; and, marching, juſt as the ſun ſet, at the head of his detachment, all lightly armed, arrived, next morning at the third hour, in a certain plain, encompaſſed with ſmall eminences.

There, as the men were all ſpent with ſo exceſſive a march, and even refuſing further to obey him, he appriſed them, that they were no more than a mile from the city of Vacca; that it was incumbent upon them frankly to ſuſtain their remaining taſk; a taſk ſo intereſting; even to avenge the tragical fate of their fellow-citizens; all brave men, all miſerably maſſacred: he added a raviſhing bait, the offer of the whole plunder. When he had thus rouzed their courage, he directed the cavalry to form a line in front; the infantry to march in as cloſe order as poſſible; and all the banners to be concealed.

The inhabitants of Vacca, when they obſerved an army advancing towards them, conceived, at firſt, what the fact was; that it was Metellus; and ſhut their gates. Anon, when they ſaw, not

only that, in the country where they paſſed, no devaſtation was committed, but withal, that the foremoſt ranks conſiſted of Numidian horſe, they next conjectured it to be Jugurtha; and iſſued out with huge joy to meet him. Inſtantly, upon the ſignal given, our forces, foot and horſe, flew to the attack: ſome ſlaughtered the common herd, who had poured in crouds out of the city; others ran to ſecure the gates; others maſtered the towers. Indeed, a paſſion for revenge, and hope of plunder, quite overcame all ſenſe of wearineſs.

Thus the people of Vacca triumphed no more than two days in their bloody treachery: this city, ſo mighty and opulent, was ſubjected without reſerve to vengeance and rapine. Turpilius, who, though governor of the city, had alone, amongſt ſo many, procured ſafety by flight, as I have above recounted, was ordered, by Metellus, to appear, and make his defence: as he failed in clearing himſelf, he was condemned, doomed to be ſcourged, and puniſhed capitally; a ſentence which he underwent as a native of Latium.

About this time, Bomilcar, he by whoſe ſolicitation Jugurtha had made an offer to ſurrender, from whence he afterwards relapſed, through fear, was eagerly ſet upon a revolution, and even contriving by what device to deſtroy the king: for he was already diſtruſted by Jugurtha, and himſelf filled with equal diſtruſt. He, therefore, employed his thoughts night and day in plotting: at length, after having examined all ſorts of ſchemes, he aſſumed Nabdalſa for his aſſociate; a man of illuſtrious quality, ſignal for his great wealth, and

beloved by his countrymen; a man who uſually commanded an army apart from that of the king, and conducted all affairs diſcretionally, where Jugurtha, oppreſſed with others, could not diſpatch them, or was engaged in diſpatching greater. From all which he acquired much popular renown, as well as much weight and opulence.

Now theſe two having agreed only upon the day of executing the conſpiracy, and leaving all previous meaſures to be adjuſted occaſionally, as occurrences ſhould ariſe, Nabdalſa repaired to the army; which, by the king's orders, he kept ſtationed in the neighbourhood of our winter-quarters; thence to reſtrain the Roman forces from ravaging the country with impunity; but, as he returned not at the appointed time, (for he was, indeed, diſmayed at an enterprize ſo black and daring, and fear ſtill obſtructed his coming) Bomilcar, who was at once animated by his own impatience to perpetrate his deſign; and alſo full of diſtruſt of his accomplice, leſt, deſerting their late engagements, he ſhould ſeek his own ſafety in a diſcovery; wrote to Nabdalſa, by ſuch as he could confide in; upbraiding him with effeminacy, and a daſtardly ſpirit; calling to witneſs the gods by whom he had ſworn, and warning him, 'Not to 'convert to his own perdition the ample offers of 'Metellus: the doom of Jugurtha was certainly 'at hand: the only difficulty to be determined, 'was, whether he were to periſh by a brave 'ſtroke of theirs, or by one from Metellus: he 'ſhould, therefore, conſult his own ſoul, which

'alternative to prefer; a great recompence, or a 'rack.'

It ſo chanced, that, when this letter was brought to Nabdalſa, he was retired to his bed for reſt, after much exerciſe and fatigue: at firſt, after he had peruſed what Bomilcar alledged, ſore anguiſh ſeized his ſpirit; then, what is uſual to minds overwhelmed with cares, ſleep ſurprized him. In his ſervice he entertained a certain Numidian of tried fidelity, at once his favourite and his ſecretary; indeed, privy to all his counſels and deſigns, except the laſt: this man, when he heard, that a packet was come, judging that, according to cuſtom, there would be occaſion for his hand, or even for his counſel, went into that part of the pavilion, where, finding his maſter aſleep, with the letter lying negligently behind his head on the pillow, he took it, and read it attentively; and, thence learning the conſpiracy, inſtantly haſted away to the king.

Nabdalſa ſoon after waked; but, as he could not find the letter, and learned withal, from certain deſerters, the ſeveral circumſtances as they had paſſed, his firſt attempt was to have his accuſer purſued and intercepted: failing in this expedient, he ſtrait repaired to the preſence of Jugurtha, there to try to appeaſe him. He averred, that he himſelf had laid a ſcheme to diſcloſe the whole, and was prevented only by the treachery of his officer: with eyes full of tears he conjured him, 'By their mutual confidence and amity, by his 'many faithful ſervices paſt, not to hold him ſuſ-'pected of ſo black a treaſon.' To all this the

king anſwered very graciouſly; far differently from what he thought. As he had already ſeen Bomilcar executed, with many others whom he had diſcovered to have been engaged in the conſpiracy, he now ſmothered his vengeance; leſt, by continuing to ſacrifice ſuch popular ſubjects, he might excite an inſurrection.

From henceforward Jugurtha never enjoyed one day or night with a quiet mind; never judging himſelf ſecure in any place, nor with any human creature, nor at any time; equally diſtruſted his ſubjects and his enemies; was wary and watchful every-where; ſtared and trembled at every noiſe; paſſed his nights now here, now there, often very unſuitably to the dignity of a king: ſometimes ſuddenly rouſed from his ſleep, and ſnatching his arms, he raiſed an alarm during the dead of night. Thus his fears, like a phrenſy, conſtantly worried and tranſported him.

Now Metellus, when he was, by deſerters, appriſed of the doom of Bomilcar, and the diſcovery of the conſpiracy, concerted anew all his meaſures, and proceeded with the ſame ardour as if the war were but juſt beginning. Marius, continually teizing him for leave to return home, was now diſmiſſed by him, as a man whom he knew to ſerve againſt his inclination, to be actuated with perſonal enmity towards him, and, upon all theſe accounts, not fit to be truſted by him.

Moreover, at Rome, the populace, having learned in what different ſtrains the letters were written from Africa, concerning Metellus and Ma-

rius, readily agreed to whatever was ſaid of both. The illuſtrious quality of the general, hitherto a motive for reverencing him, was become the ground of popular deſpight; whilſt his competitor derived popular favour from the obſcurity of his race: but ſtill the partiality of the different parties had greater influence than the excellencies or defects of the different men. Beſides that, the factious magiſtrates intoxicated the multitude, arraigning Metellus of capital crimes, in all their ſpeeches to the people; and magnified, beyond bounds, the merit of Marius. At length, the croud became ſo tranſported, that the artificers and boors, a tribe who derived their whole worth and ſubſtance from the daily earnings of their hands, abandoned their ſeveral occupations, and flocked from all quarters to attend the perſon and intereſt of Marius; as they were, indeed, more anxious for his promotion, than for neceſſaries of life to themſelves.

Whilſt the nobility were thus depreſſed and awed, the conſulſhip, which had been confined to their body, during a long ſucceſſion, was conferred upon a new man. After this point was gained, when the people came to be aſked, in a numerous aſſembly, by Manlius Mantinus one of their tribunes, to whom they pleaſed to commit the conduct of the war againſt Jugurtha? they, with one voice, aſſigned it to Marius: indeed, the ſenate had, not long before, decreed Numidia to Metellus; a decree now rendered abortive.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, Jugurtha found himſelf quite bereft of his confidents and

counſellors. He had, indeed, himſelf doomed moſt of them to periſh: the reſt, dreading the ſame bloody lot, had fled, ſome to the Romans, ſome to king Bocchus. Now, as he ſaw it impoſſible to maintain the war without the aid of miniſters and officers, and yet held it exceeding perilous to riſque the fidelity of new, after having experienced ſuch enormous treachery in the old, he continued under ſore agitations of mind, wavering and perplexed: nor could any incident, nor any ſcheme, nor any perſon, be, in any meaſure, approved by him. Every day he ſhifted his march; every day filled the poſts of authority anew. Now he marched againſt the enemy; anon retreated to the wilderneſs: oftentimes placed all his ſecurity in flight and concealment; preſently after in reſiſtance and battle. Nor could he determine which he ought moſt to diſtruſt in his people, their want of courage, or their want of fidelity: inſomuch that, on what ſide ſoever he ſought a reſource, he beheld nothing but grief and diſcouragement.

Whilſt he was thus heſitating, Metellus, on a ſudden, preſents himſelf to view with his army. Jugurtha improved what time he had to diſpoſe and embattle his Numidians; and inſtantly the combat enſued. In that quarter where the king fought in perſon, the conflict was for ſome time maintained: the reſt of his troops, elſewhere, were routed, upon the firſt encounter, and put to flight. The Romans gained all their arms and ſtandards, with a certain number of priſoners. In

truth, the Numidians, in all their battles with the Romans, had found more defence from their ſpeed, than from their weapons of war.

Jugurtha, after this overthrow, deſponding ſtill more and more of his fortune, accompanied by the deſerters, and part of his cavalry, reached the deſarts; and then Thala, a city very ſtrong and opulent. There the king's treaſure was chiefly kept; there his children were educated with princely care and appointments.

As ſoon as Metellus was appriſed of this, although he had learned, that, between the adjoining river and the city, he had a march of fifty miles, all through a parched and dreary wilderneſs; yet ſuch were his hopes of terminating the war by the reduction of that city, that he attempted to brave the rudeſt obſtacles, and even to triumph over the ſtubbornneſs of nature. He, therefore, orders all the beaſts of carriage to be lightened of their uſual burdens, and to be laden only with bread-corn for ten days, together with leathern bottles, and other implements proper for carrying water. He, moreover, provided whatever domeſtic beaſts the neighbouring territory afforded; and loaded them with veſſels of every kind, moſtly of wood, procured from the Numidian cottages. Beſides, he commanded the adjoining natives, who had yielded to him after the defeat of the king, to furniſh themſelves with what water they could poſſibly carry, and bring it him at a particular time and place, with which he then acquainted them. For a ſupply to himſelf, he loaded his beaſts with water from the river; which, though

ſo remote from Thala, was yet the neareſt river to it, as I have already related.

Thus furniſhed and prepared, he advanced towards Thala. When he was arrived where he had directed the Numidians to attend him, and had juſt pitched and fortified his camp, ſuch a flood of rain is reported to have fallen, as would of itſelf have more than ſufficed the army. Here was alſo brought ſuch ſtore of proviſions as ſurpaſſed all expectation: for the Numidians, like moſt other nations, who have ſubmitted to new maſters, had officiouſly exceeded in the meaſure injoined. The ſoldiers, out of devotion, choſe chiefly the water which fell from the heavens; and, by it, their reſolution was greatly heightened, as thence they conceived themſelves under the immediate guardianſhip of the immortal gods. The next day's march brought them before the walls of Thala, to the great ſurprize of Jugurtha: the inhabitants, who had thought themſelves abundantly ſecured by the deſperate difficulties found in approaching them, were, indeed, aſtoniſhed at an event ſo terrifying and unparalleled; yet with not the leſs courage prepared for reſiſtance. The ſame reſolute temper was ſeen in our forces.

The king believed, that nothing now was too difficult for Metellus to accompliſh; ſince ſuch was his vigour, as to have triumphed over all efforts from men and arms; over climates, ſituations and ſeaſons; nay, over, what controuls all other things, nature herſelf. He, therefore, ſtole out of the city in the dark, with his children, and

great part of his treaſure. From henceforward, he never ſtaid in one place more than a day or a night: his pretence was variety of buſineſs, which hurried him hither and thither: but the truth is, he lived under conſtant dread of treaſonable attempts; which he reckoned to evade by the quickneſs of his motions; ſince ſuch deſigns, he thought, were only formed when leiſure and opportunity preſented.

Metellus, when he obſerved the citizens bent upon fighting for their defence, the city withal ſtrong, both by ſituation and bulwarks, begirt it with a trench and palliſade; then ordered moving machines to be rolled to all convenient ſtations, mounds to be raiſed upon theſe machines, and upon the mounds turrets; ſuch as might ſerve to protect the whole work, and thoſe who conducted it. Againſt all theſe preparations the citizens contrived others; and exerted wonderful activity and ſpirit: indeed, no effort was left untried by both ſides. At length, the Romans, after a tedious ſiege of forty days, added to their infinite former toils, and to the many bloody conflicts which had ſorely exhauſted them, gained poſſeſſion of the bare city. The whole ſpoil was deſtroyed by the deſerters: theſe men no ſooner perceived the walls ſhaken by the battering-rams, and their own lot deſperate, than they removed from the city the gold and ſilver, with whatever elſe is eſteemed of value, into the royal palace: there they ſurcharged themſelves with wine and feaſting; then committed all to the conſuming flames, the wealth, the palace, and their own lives. Thus they underwent, of their own accord, the worſt doom,

that, after a defeat, they could have dreaded from their enemy.

Juſt upon the taking of Thala there came deputies from the city of Leptis to Metellus, intreating him to ſend them a garriſon and a governor; becauſe a man of quality there, extremely factious, his name Hamilcar, was labouring to overthrow the preſent government in it; and, as neither the authority of the magiſtrates, nor fear of the laws, availed to reſtrain him, ſudden ruin threatened a community joined in alliance with the people of Rome, unleſs Metellus ſent them preſent ſuccour. It muſt be owned, that the people of Leptis had from the beginning of the war with Jugurtha, applied firſt to Beſtia the conſul, afterwards directly to Rome, ſuing for admiſſion to friendſhip and confederacy. From that time, having obtained their ſuit, they ever continued our worthy and faithful allies, ever chearfully complied with all the orders of our ſucceſſive commanders there, Beſtia, Albinus and Metellus. So that they eaſily procured from the general what they requeſted of him. He diſpatched for the guard of Leptis, four cohorts of Ligurians, and Caius Annius for governor of the city.

The founders of this city were Sidonians, ſuch as, flying by ſea from the rage of inteſtine arms, landed on this ſhore, where it is ſituated between the two Syrtes; places which derive their denomination from their quality. Theſe are two bays almoſt in the extremity of Africa, naturally alike, differing only in ſize. Round the ſhores of theſe, the ſea is exceeding deep; elſewhere it varies, and

is deep or ſhallow, according to the occaſional ſhifting of the ſoil below. For when the ſea ſwells, and is furiouſly agitated by the winds, the mighty billows ſweep along the ſlime and ſand, and even huge ſtones: inſomuch that when the winds change, ſo does the bed of the waters; and from this their force, in dragging and ſhifting their channel, they are called * Syrtes.

The only change which the Leptinians have undergone, is that of their native language; occaſioned by their intermarrying with the Numidians. Their civil inſtitutions, and domeſtic cuſtoms, are ſtill moſtly ſuch as they originally derived from Sidon: all which they the more eaſily retained, becauſe they lived far remote from the influence of the Numidian court: indeed, between them and ſuch territories of Numidia as are well peopled, there are infinite deſarts.

Here, ſince by the ſtory of the Leptinians I am led to diſcourſe of theſe regions, it ſeems not impertinent to recount a famed and marvellous adventure of two Carthaginians: the place reminds me of it.

Whilſt the Carthaginians exerciſed ſovereignty over moſt parts of Africa, the Cyrenians too were very mighty in power and in wealth. Between them there extended a great ſandy plain, quite uniform, without river or mountain, whence to aſcertain and diſtinguiſh their boundaries: an inconvenience which held them involved in conſtant

* Formed of a Greek word, which ſignifies to *ſuck*, or *draw*.

and raging war. Now after their armies, nay their fleets too, had been frequently routed and put to flight by turns, and they were both well exhauſted; as they came to apprehend, leſt a common enemy might attack the conquerors as well as the conquered, thus equally low and reduced, they came firſt to a truce, then to an accommodation; namely, to diſpatch certain perſons from each city, at a ſtated time, and to hold the place where they met, for the common bounds between the two ſtates. The two brothers bearing the ſame name, that of Philaenus, were deputed from Carthage, and travelled with infinite celerity. Thoſe from Cyrene advanced more ſlowly, whether from inactivity or from miſchance, I know not. It muſt be confeſſed, that thoſe regions are as liable as the ſea, to be agitated with vehement tempeſts, and thence, at times, unpaſſable. For in theſe dreadful plains, deſtitute of ſhelter, and of every green thing, when the wind blows fiercely, the dry ſand, thus hurled from the earth, and driven by a mighty hurricane, fills the mouths and eyes of the travellers, and, bereaving them of their ſight, ſtops their proceeding.

When the Cyrenians perceived, that they were ſurpaſſed in ſpeed, and foreſaw a terrible doom to abide them at home, as the authors of ſuch public detriment; they reproached the Carthaginians with perfidy, as having left home before the limited time: they wrangled, ſtrove to fruſtrate the mutual ſtipulation, and declared they would incur all riſques rather than yield and return. Now,

when the two brothers from Carthage deſired them to propoſe any expedient that was but equal and fair, the Greeks from Cyrene offered them the option, 'either of being buried alive in that very 'place, where they contended to fix the bounds 'of their ſtate; or of ſuffering the Cyrenians to 'proceed as much farther as they choſe, upon the 'ſame terms.' The two brothers accepted the condition, and devoting their perſons and lives to the benefit of the commonweal, were thus buried alive in that very ſpot. There the Carthaginians reared altars, ſacred to theſe brothers, beſides other ſolemnities inſtituted in Carthage itſelf, to perpetuate their honour. I now return to my ſubject.

Jugurtha, who after the taking of Thala, judged nothing a ſufficient defence againſt Metellus, paſſing through immenſe deſarts, attended by a few followers, arrived amongſt the Getulians, a brutal race, altogether barbarous, and then unacquainted even with the name of Romans. Of theſe he amaſſed a huge hoſt, accuſtomed them by degrees to move in ranks, to follow their ſtandards, to obey orders; nay, to perform all other military functions. Moreover, by great preſents, and great promiſes, he allured ſuch as had moſt ſway with king Bocchus, to eſpouſe his cauſe there; and applying to that prince, by their interceſſion, prevailed with him to undertake a war againſt the Romans. This was the more eaſily accompliſhed, as it humoured the reſentment of Bocchus, who at the beginning of our war with Jugurtha, had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, without

ſucceſs, to deſire mutual friendſhip and alliance; an alliance highly ſeaſonable and advantageous at ſuch a conjuncture; but obſtructed by a few grandees, who, blinded with the luſt of lucre, made it their cuſtom to turn into ſale every public counſel and queſtion, whether honourable or infamous. Some time before, too, Bocchus had married a daughter of Jugurtha; though ſuch an alliance, in truth, be held but of ſmall importance amongſt the Numidians and Moors: for, they all have a plurality of wives, each in proportion to his ability, ſome ten, others more; their kings therefore more than any. In ſuch a multiplicity of women, the heart of man is neceſſarily diſtracted: inſomuch, that none of them being conſidered as his companion, they are all treated with equal contempt.

The kings with their armies met at a place ſettled by conſent. There, after the ſolemnity of pledging their mutual faith, Jugurtha ſet himſelf to inflame the ſpirit of Bocchus, by repreſenting the Romans 'As abandoned to all unjuſtice, to 'avarice without bounds; as common enemies to 'human kind; furniſhed with the ſame cauſe for 'making war upon Bocchus, as upon himſelf, 'and upon ſo many other nations; even the ardent luſt of domination: hence their antipathy 'to all independent ſovereigns. At preſent they 'purſued him as an enemy, as lately they had the 'Carthaginians, as alſo king Perſes. Henceforward, whatever potentate appeared moſt opulent, 'would, for that reaſon, be treated by the 'Romans as their foe.

When he had offered theſe and the like invectives, they bent their march to Cirta; becauſe in this city Metellus had lodged all his booty, priſoners, and baggage. From hence Jugurtha conceived an opinion, that he ſhould abundantly find his account, either in taking the town, or in fighting the Romans, if they came to relieve it. Such was the craft of the man, who therefore thus haſted to action, purely to deprive Bocchus of all views of peace; leſt, if delays intervened, he might chuſe meaſures far different from thoſe of war.

When the Roman general had learnt the confederacy between the two kings, he was not forward, as before, when he had only to deal with Jugurtha, ſo often vanquiſhed by him, to meet the enemy in battle at all adventures. He therefore awaited the approach of the king, in a well-fortified camp, not far from Cirta. For, as the Moors, now joined with the Numidians, were an enemy altogether ſtrange to us, he deemed it the better choice to reſerve himſelf till he were acquainted with their character, and only to fight when he found it advantageous.

In the mean time he was informed from Rome, that the province of Numidia was conferred upon Marius: for he had before heard of his advancment to the conſulſhip. With both tidings he was ſorely mortified, far unſuitably to the rules of decency, or indeed of dignity, ſo as neither to reſtrain tears, nor to moderate his tongue. So over-weakly did ſo great a man ſink under vexation of mind, though otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed for e-

very noble quality and acquirement. This failing was by ſome aſcribed to haughtineſs; by others, to a worthy ſpirit, exaſperated by contumelious uſage; by many to anguiſh, to ſee the victory, won by him, ſnatched from him. To me it hath been fully proved, that he was more irritated by the promotion of Marius, than by his own wrongs; and that he would have born his removal from the province with much leſs regret, had any but Marius ſucceeded him in it.

His indignation, therefore, reſtraining him from making any further efforts in war, and eſteeming it folly to venture his own perſon to advance the intereſt of another, he diſpatched certain deputies to king Bocchus, to warn him 'Againſt becoming 'enemy to the Roman people, without any 'injury received from them. He had now a glo-'rious opportunity of joining with them in a 'league of friendſhip; a choice to him much 'more advantageous than that of war. What-'ever aſſurance he placed in the greatneſs of his 'forces, ſtill he ought not to riſque what was 'certain for what was uncertain. Any war was 'eaſily undertaken, but none brought to an iſſue 'without very afflicting incidents: he who had 'power to begin it, had not alſo power to con-'clude it. It was eaſy for any one, even for a 'coward, to ſtir it up; but at the ſole pleaſure 'of the conquerors, when to ſuppreſs it. He 'ſhould therefore ſtudy the ſecurity of himſelf, 'and his kingdom; and, on no account, blend 'his own flouriſhing fortune with the deſperate 'fate of Jugurtha.'

The king's anſwer was courteous; 'He too 'deſired peace, but pitied the calamitous lot of 'Jugurtha: if he alſo were to be included, a ge-'neral pacification would enſue.' Again the Roman general ſent his deputies, with anſwers to the pretenſions of Bocchus, who acquieſced in ſome particulars, and rejected others. In this manner, by ſending and returning deputies, time paſſed away, and the war was protracted without any action, agreeably to the deſign of Metellus.

Marius, as I have related, had been created conſul by the people, with all the ſymptoms of affection; and, having next, by a popular ordinance, been appointed governor of Numidia, he, who had been long before exaſperated againſt the nobility, now braved them with high inſolence and aſperity: ſomtimes he inſulted particular grandees, ſometimes the whole body. He was continually repeating, 'That he had raviſhed the conſulſhip 'from them, as ſpoil from a defeated enemy;' with many other boaſts, all to magnify himſelf, and to mortify them. In the mean while, it was his principal attention to be furniſhed with whatever the war required: he demanded recruits for the legions; he drew ſuccours from foreign nations, from kings and confederate ſtates. He invited, moreover, all the braveſt men to be found in Latium, moſt of them well known to him by having ſerved with him; inſomuch that very few of them depended, for their recommendation, upon hearſay. Nay, ſuch was his addreſs and court, even to the diſcharged veterans, that he induced them to arm again, and accompany him.

Neither did the ſenate, though known to be his enemies, dare to deny any ſuit of his. Beſides, they felt ſecret joy in decreeing him a body of recruits; for they preſumed, that the populace would not bear to inliſt, and then Marius muſt either remain diſabled from purſuing the war, or loſe the hearts of the commonalty. But ſuch expectations were quite diſappointed; ſo vehement a paſſion for attending Marius had ſeized moſt of them. Every man promiſed himſelf to return with certain victory, and enriched with ſpoil; with the like pleaſing fancies, which now turned their heads. Indeed, Marius had by his ſpeech elevated them in no ſmall degree. For, when the ſeveral ordinances for granting all his many ſuits, had paſſed, and his next ſtudy was to raiſe men, he aſſembled the people; and taking this occaſion for animating them to the ſervice, and withal for laſhing the nobility, as he was wont, he harangued in the following ſtrain.

'I know, Romans, that moſt who are your 'ſuitors for high dignities, recommend themſelves 'by a conduct very different from what they ob-'ſerve when they have obtained them. In the 'purſuit, they are indefatigable, condeſcending, 'and gentle: in the poſſeſſion, they conſign them-'ſelves to indolence and haughtineſs. To me, 'the contrary conduct ſeems juſt. For, in pro-'portion as the general intereſt of the ſtate is of 'more moment than the particular offices of con-'ſul or praetor, higher aſſiduity is required in 'adminiſtrating the commonwealth, than in court-'ing its preferments.

'I am by no means unacquainted to what a 'high taſk I am deſtined by this your generous 'choice of me. To concert meaſures for conduct-'ing the war; yet ſtill to favour the treaſury; to 'oblige thoſe to ſerve, whom it behoves you not 'to offend; to be exerciſed in continual attention 'to all tranſactions at Rome, and elſewhere; 'and to diſcharge all theſe duties amidſt a com-'bination of malignant men, for ever thwarting 'you, for ever caballing againſt you, furniſhes 'out an undertaking more trying and painful, 'O Romans, than can well be conceived. Be-'ſides, when others prove faulty in office, they 'find ready and powerful protection, in the an-'tient luſtre of their houſe, in the brave exploits 'of their anceſtors, in the great credit of their 'family, very potent, and widely allied; finally, 'in the zeal of numerous dependents and retain-'ers. To me no reſource remains, but in my-'ſelf only; ſuch, too, as it is highly incumbent 'on me to preſerve, as well by the firmneſs as by 'the integrity of my conduct: any other ſup-'port would fail me.

'I am aware alſo, Romans, that all eyes are 'fixed upon me; that all worthy, all unpreju-'diced men, cordially eſpouſe me; as they are 'pleaſed with my ſucceſsful efforts to ſerve the 'commonweal. I am aware, too, that the no-'bility are deviſing ways to deſtroy me: whence 'it behoves me to exert the greater vigour; not 'only that you be not miſled by them, but that 'all their malice may be baffled. From my child-'hood upwards, my life has been ſo ſeaſoned

with toils and perils, that they are become habitual to me. As I had long ſerved you diſintereſtedly, before your favours reached me, it is far from my heart, O Romans, to diſcontinue ſerving you now, when ſuch noble retribution is made. Thoſe men, who, from ambition, aſſume the guiſe of virtue to gain power, find it difficult to exerciſe moderation in it: in me, who have applied my whole life to the moſt laudable courſes, the habit of well-doing is converted into nature.

'It is your pleaſure to ordain me general againſt Jugurtha; an ordinance bitterly reſented by the nobility. Pray, conſult your own judgment once more, whether it were not better to alter your choice; and to appoint, for this undertaking, or for any other like it, one of that herd of nobles, a man of very antient deſcent, abounding in the images of his anceſtry, and utterly unacquainted with the ſervice: ſee how, under ſuch an arduous undertaking, he will ſhrink and hurry; and, ignorant himſelf of every branch of his duty, take a plebeian for his inſtructor in the whole. Thus it hath, for the moſt part, happened, that the man whom you appoint your general, is obliged to look out for another general to direct him: nay, I myſelf, O Romans, know ſome, who began, after they were conſuls, to read the hiſtory of our forefathers, and to ſtudy our military precepts taken from the Greeks. Strange inverſion of order and time! For though the bearing

'office be later than the election to office; yet, 'in the nature of things, qualification and ſufficiency precede the election.

'Now, Romans, compare me, who am new 'in preferments, with theſe men, ſwelling with 'their high quality. Whatever they are wont to 'gather from hearſay, or from reading, I have 'ſeen tranſacted, or tranſacted myſelf: what they 'have learned from books, I have learned in the 'ſervice. Judge, from hence, whether real actions, or bare ſpeculation, are moſt to be regarded. They ſcorn me, as a man of modern 'dignity; I them, as ſluggards of antient lineage: 'I am only upbraided with my fortune; they 'with their flagitious doings. In my eſtimation, 'nature is ever the ſame, ſhared in common amongſt all men; and whoever moſt excels in 'heroic virtue, excels moſt in quality. Suppoſe 'it were poſſible to inquire of the fathers of Albinus and Beſtia, whether they would have 'choſen to have given birth to me or to them? 'what do you believe would be their anſwer, but 'that they would wiſh to have had for their ſons 'the moſt valuable men?

'But ſuppoſe the nobles have any ground to 'deſpiſe me: they have the ſame to deſpiſe their 'progenitors: men who derived their original 'nobility, as I do mine, from military virtue. 'They behold with envy my public dignity: let 'them envy, too, my long courſe of fatigues, 'my morals void of blemiſh, and my conſtant 'perils; for by theſe only I gained it. In truth, 'theſe men, blind with inſolence, lead ſuch lives,

'as if they were above accepting the public dignities in your gift; yet ſue for them as confidently, as if, by their courſe of life, they had deſerved them. Surely they are greatly deluded, at once to aim at two things ſo oppoſite; the enjoyment of ſenſual riot, and the recompences due to heroic virtue! What is equally ſtrange, when they entertain you with harangues, or make them in the ſenate, moſt of their eloquence is beſtowed in boaſting of their anceſtors; as, by recounting the brave exploits of theſe, they think to derive great luſtre upon themſelves: but the reverſe enſues; ſince the more brightly the lives of their forefathers ſhone, the greater ſcandal redounds upon their own unmanly deportment. The thing is plainly this; the glory earned by dead anceſtors is like a great light attending their deſcendants; and ſuffering none of their actions, good or evil to lie concealed. I bear the want of all ſuch hereditary luſtre, O Romans: but, what is infinitely more noble, I can recount to you deeds of renown; deeds atchieved by myſelf in perſon.

'Behold now how injuſt theſe men are! Whilſt they arrogate to themſelves high diſtinction from the heroic actions of others, they will allow me none from thoſe done by myſelf: and all becauſe I have no images of anceſtry, and my nobility is no older than myſelf. It is, ſurely, much more laudable to introduce nobility into a new family, than to debaſe the nobility of an old.

'Still I am aware, that, if they would reply to what I now ſay, they would do it with abundant

'ſtrains of eloquence, with notable art and cor-
'rectneſs: yet I could not forbear ſpeaking, as I
'was urged by the bitter contumelies, which, up-
'on all occaſions, they threw, not upon me on-
'ly, but upon you, ever ſince you ſo highly
'diſtinguiſhed me. I was, indeed, afraid, leſt
'ſome might attribute my ſilence to inward convicti-
'on; though my own heart perſuades me, that
'no ſpeech whatever can annoy me, ſince, if the
'ſpeaker utter truth, he cannot but commend
'me; if he deal falſly, my life and conduct will
'confute him.

'But ſince they arraign your determination,
'in conferring upon me the ſupreme magiſtracy,
'as well as a taſk of the higheſt moment, conſider
'over and over, whether you ought not to change
'your mind and your orders. I can make no
'diſplay of the images, of the triumphs, or of
'the conſulſhips, of my progenitors, as pledges
'for well-executing public truſt: but, were it
'required, I could produce military gifts and diſ-
'tinctions great ſtore; ſpears, ſtandards, collars,
'and other monuments of ſervice; beſides ſcars
'of wounds, all honourably received before. Theſe
'are my images, theſe the proofs of my nobility;
'not bequeathed to me, like an inheritance, (the
'only title which they have to theirs) but ſuch as
'I myſelf have earned by a ſucceſſion of toils and
'perils without number.

'My language, too, is unpoliſhed: of ſmall
'concern is that to me. Virtue and merit diſ-
'play themſelves with abundant clearneſs. To
'theſe men the art of talking is neceſſary; thence

'to diſguiſe their infamous doings. Neither have
'I been inſtructed in the learning of the Greeks:
'little, ſurely, did I like ſuch inſtruction, as what
'never improved the author of it in any degree
'of manly virtue. Let it ſuffice, that I have
'learned ſuch leſſons as are more intereſting to
'the commonweal; to wound the foe; to lead
'bands of men to the charge; to be fearleſs of all
'things but infamy; equally to undergo cold and
'heat; to repoſe myſelf upon the ground; to
'endure at once hunger and fatigue. Theſe are
'the documents which ſhall animate my ſoldiers;
'nor ſhall they ever find me treat them rigid-
'ly, and myſelf ſumptuouſly; they ſhall never
'ſee me borrow my glory from their vigilance and
'toils. Such ſhall be my rule over them; rule
'profitable to the republic; rule ſuited to the
'equality of citizens! indeed, to ſubject the army
'to mercileſs ſervice, whilſt you live in all delica-
'cy yourſelf, is acting the tyrant, not the lead-
'er.

By purſuing meaſures like theſe, your anceſt-
'ors gained immortal glory to themſelves and the
'commonwealth. Upon their glorious ſervices
'the nobility reſt themſelves, without the leaſt
'reſemblance of character; nay, deſpiſing us,
'who claim ſuch reſemblance, they demand of
'you the enjoyment of all public dignities, from
'no title of perſonal merit, but as due to their
'birth: a prodigious ſtrain of arrogance! but in
'it they are widely deceived. Their anceſtors
'left them whatever was in their power to leave;
'riches, images, and their own ſignal renown:

'their ſuperior genius and virtue they left them 'not; nor was it poſſible: it is a qualification 'which can never by preſented, never received as 'a gift.

'They report me to be a rough man, my 'manners low and courſe; becauſe I want ſkill 'curiouſly to direct a banquet; have ne'er a buf-'foon in my train; and pay no higher wages to 'the ſlave that dreſſes my meat, than to a ſlave that 'looks after a farm. Every part of this accuſati-'on I freely acknowlege, O Romans, to be true: 'for I learned from my father, and other venera-'ble men, that things of delicacy were the appur-'tenances of women; labour and activity the por-'tion of men: that all virtuous minds entertained a 'higher paſſion for glory than for riches; and 'that, in arms, not in gaudy living, true orna-'ment was found.

'But, let the nobles ſtill do what delights them, 'ſtill purſue what they hold ſo charming; riot 'in love, riot in wine; ſpend their old age, where 'they waſted their youth, in banquetting; and 'continue under irredeemable bondage to their 'bellies, and moſt impure organs: to us, let them 'leave ſweat and duſt, and ſuch other hardſhips, as, 'to us, they are more pleaſing than all the allure-'ments of feaſting. Yet even this they refuſe: 'for after having contaminated themſelves with 'all ſorts of crimes and impurities, they, the moſt 'deteſtable of all men, ſtrive to ſnatch away the 'public rewards due to worthy men for ſerving 'the public. Thus it comes to paſs, by a courſe 'of the moſt crying injuſtice, that the vileſt

'practices of intemperance and effeminacy prove
'no obſtacles to thoſe immerſed in them; yet
'threaten the unoffending commonwealth with
'deſtruction.

'Since I have thus anſwered theſe men, as far
'as the vindication of my own character required,
'though not ſo fully as their guilty conduct de-
'ſerved, I will now ſpeak ſomewhat concerning
'the adminiſtration of the government: and, what
'is firſt to be conſidered, comfort yourſelves, O
'Romans, with aſſurance of ſucceſs in Numidia;
'ſince you have now cruſhed whatever hath prov-
'ed the ſecurity of Jugurtha till this very hour;
'namely, the rapaciouſneſs, the inſufficiency, and
'arrogance, of our commanders againſt him.
'There is alſo an army there well acquainted
'with the country; but, ſurely, more brave
'than fortunate; for great numbers have fallen
'ſacrifices to the avarice or temerity of their ge-
'nerals. All you, therefore, who are of age for
'ſervice, fly to aſſiſt my endeavours with yours,
'aſſume the guardianſhip of the commonweal:
'nor let any of you fall into apprehenſions for
'himſelf, from the tragical fate of others, or
'from the pride of the late commanders: I will
'be always preſent with you, in all your marches,
'in all your encounters; firſt concerting meaſures
'for you to execute, then aſſiſting you in the ex-
'ecution.

'In a word, as you act, I ſhall act, and as you
'fare, I ſhall fare, in every inſtance. Let me
'add, that, by the favour of the deities, all things
'are ripe to our wiſhes, victory, ſpoil, and glory:

'nay, were all theſe acquiſitions uncertain, or 'even remote, ſtill it is incumbent upon every 'worthy citizen to ſuccour the commonweal. To 'ſay truth, no man ever became immortal by ſloth 'and lukewarmneſs. It was never yet the wiſh 'of a father for his children, that they might ne-'ver die; but rather that they might ſpend their 'lives like uſeful and honourable men. To what 'I have ſaid I ſhould ſtill add more, if words had 'force to render cowards brave; for I think I have, 'to the valiant, ſpoken ſufficiently.'

Marius, when he had made this ſpeech, perceiving the minds of the people elate and complying, immediately ordered his proviſions, money, arms, with all other appurtenances of war, to be embarked; and directed the whole to ſail, under the command of Aulus Manlius his lieutenant-general. He himſelf was buſied, the while, in levying men: nor, in doing it had he regard to the primitive rules of inrolling only thoſe of certain claſſes, but accepted all inclined to the ſervice; moſt of them ſuch, indeed, as, by the laws of the ſtate, were, for their extreme poverty, exempted from carrying arms. There were ſome who attributed this his conduct to the ſcarcity of men better qualified: other aſcribed it to a deſign of making his court to the rabble; ſince, from them, he firſt derived his fame, and now his promotion. Beſides that, the moſt ſeaſonable aſſiſtants to any man who is graſping after power, are ever the needy and deſperate; ſuch as, having no property of their own, are under no concern to ſecure it; but hold for honourable whatever is gainful.

Now Marius, ſetting ſail for Africa, accompanied with a number of troops, ſomething exceeding what were decreed him, landed in a few days at Utica. There the command of the army was transferred to him by Publius Rutilius lieutenant-general to Metellus; for Metellus had choſen to ſhun any meeting with Marius; as he would not, in perſon, ſee, what he could never bear to hear.

The conſul, having completed the number of his legions and auxiliary cohorts, marched into a fertile territory, abounding in plunder: whatever ſpoil was taken there, he wholly beſtowed upon the ſoldiers. He next aſſailed ſuch fortreſſes and towns as were not very ſtrong, either by nature, or in numerous garriſons. There followed many encounters in ſeveral places; moſt of them light. During all this ſervice, the late recruits learned to join in an onſet without fear: they ſaw ſuch as fled, either killed or taken; the braveſt, everywhere, the moſt ſecure: they ſaw, that it was by arms, that public liberty, our common country, our parents, and all things in general, were protected; that, by arms, glory and riches were procured to particulars. Thus, in a ſhort time, the new men came to match the veterans; and the whole were found equaly adroit and brave.

As to the two kings; as ſoon as ever they had learned, that Marius was arrived, they parted; and withdrew each into remote places, hardly to be approached. Such was the counſel of Jugurtha: for he hoped, that, as his enemies would thus come to diſperſe, they would furniſh him an

opportunity of falling upon them; ſince the Romans, like moſt other nations, when their fears ceaſed, would act with more remiſſneſs, and leſs regularity.

During theſe tranſactions, Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was received there, contrary to what he expected, with hearts full of affection and tranſport; and, now that popular prejudice and diſguſt were vaniſhed, he proved as dear to the plebeians as to the nobility.

Of Marius, too, it muſt be owned, that he exerted notable quickneſs, as alſo notable prudence, in learning the meaſures of the enemy, and in purſuing his own; in deviſing what might conduce to advance or fruſtrate either; in diſcovering the ſeparate marches of the two kings; in contriving how to baffle all their machinations and ſnares. In his own quarters he ſuffered nothing remiſs; no abatement of duty; and nothing quiet and ſecure in theirs: inſomuch that, as he frequently aſſailed not only the Getulians, but Jugurtha, too, in perſon, when either he or they were carrying off the plunder of our confederates, he always routed both: nay, not far from Cirta he even forced the king to caſt away his arms, and fly.

Yet, when he reflected, that theſe efforts produced only ſmoak and applauſe, but nothing to terminate the war, he reſolved to lay ſiege, by turns, to all ſuch towns, as, either in ſtrength of gariſon or ſituation, contributed moſt to the benefit of the enemy, and to his own detriment; with deſign, either thus to diveſt Jugurtha of all his reſources of ſtrength, if he ſuffered them to be taken; or to

bring him to a battle, if he attempted to relieve them. For from king Bocchus he had frequently received deputies, ſignifyng 'how much he ſought the 'amity of the Roman people; and that no ſort of ho-'ſtility was to be apprehended from him.' It was never diſcovered, whether he only feigned this pacific diſpoſition, thence to fall upon us unawares with more ſlaughter; or whether he followed the impulſe of his own ſpirit, naturally variable, prompting him, by ſudden turns, now to war, anon to peace.

The conſul, purſuing his reſolution, advances againſt the ſtrong towns and caſtles; and gained them from the enemy; ſome by force, ſome by fear, others by advantageous conditions. In truth, his firſt enterprizes were but moderately bold; as he judged, that Jugurtha, for the protection of his ſubjects, would riſque an encounter: but, having learned, that he continued at a great diſtance, and was occupied in different counſels, Marius thought it a ſeaſonable juncture to proceed to higher and more daring adventures.

There ſtood, in the midſt of boundleſs deſarts, a great fortified city, named Capſa, reported to have been founded by the Libyan Hercules. The citizens, too, were accounted faithfully devoted to Jugurtha, for their immunities under him, and his gentle government over them. Againſt their enemies they were defended not only by powerful bulwarks, by magazines of arms, and numbers of men, but by a greater ſecurity than all, the dreadful regions round them: for, except the fields

adjoining to the town, on all ſides there ſtretched a diſmal tract; bare, barren, every-where void of water, every-where infeſted with ſerpents, whoſe rage, like that of other wild and devouring creatures, is ſharpened by famine: add, that the poiſon of ſerpents, ſo deadly in its own nature, is inflamed by nothing more than by thirſt.

Marius had a vehement deſire to maſter this town; not only for the advancement of the war, but becauſe it was an arduous undertaking: moreover Metellus had acquired great glory from the taking of Thala; a town not much different in ſituation and defence, except that a little way without the walls of Thala ſeveral ſprings aroſe; whereas the people of Capſa had no more than one, and that within the city, without farther ſupply, except ſome rain. This inconvenience is the more ſupportable here, and in all the other inland parts of Africa, where ruſtic habits prevail; ſince the Numidians, for meat and drink, ſatisfy themſelves chiefly with milk and veniſon, without wanting ſo much as ſalt, or, indeed, any other ſtimulation of appetite: amongſt them the ſole purpoſe of eating is to reſiſt hunger; of drinking to allay thirſt; never to gratify intemperance and luxury.

The conſul, in this undertaking, took all poſſible precaution and informations; but relied, I preſume, principally upon aid from the gods; ſince it was impoſſible that he could contrive any ſcheme of his own, thoroughly to ſurmount ſo many alarming difficulties: nay, further diſcouragement aroſe from the ſcarcity of corn; ſince

the Numidians are much more ſolicitous about graſs for their cattle, than the production of grain. Beſides that, whatever had been then produced, they had, by orders from the king, conveyed into places of defence; as it was now the cloſe of the ſummer, a ſeaſon when the ground is utterly parched and unbearing.

In proportion, however, to his condition and means, he concerted meaſures with abundant foreſight and oeconomy. The care of conducting all the cattle, which, during ſome preceding days, had been taken in plunder, he committed to the auxiliary horſe. He ordered Aulus Manlius his lieutenant to advance with the light cohorts to the city Laris, where he had placed his military cheſt, and his ſtores: what he openly declared was, that he would rejoin them there in a few days, after an excurſion in purſuit of ſpoil. Such was the method which he took to conceal his enterprize, and then marched directly towards the river Tana.

During this march, he diſtributed daily a certain number of beaſts amongſt the army, ſo many to a company of foot, ſo many to a troop of horſe, in equal proportions; and cauſed withal bottles to be made of their hides: ſo that, by this management, he at once compenſated for the ſcarcity of corn, and provided ſuch implements as were ſoon to become neceſſary, though none then knew his intentions. At length, when, in ſix days march, they had arrived at the river, they had already made vaſt ſtores of ſuch bottles. Having there pitched and ſlightly ſecured his camp, he

ordered the ſoldiers to refreſh themſelves with food, and be ready to move preciſely with the ſetting ſun, to leave all their baggage behind them, and to encumber themſelves, and their beaſts of burden, with nothing elſe but water.

The moment the time was elapſed, he decamped; and, having marched the whole night, encamped again in the morning. Next night he renewed his march; and the third, long before dawn, he came to a place full of ſmall hills, not above two miles from Capſa; there he lay in wait with his forces, concealing himſelf and them with all poſſible cloſeneſs and care: but, as ſoon as day appeared, and the Numidians, far from apprehending any enemy, had left the town in great numbers, he ſtrait commanded the whole cavalry, as alſo the ſwifteſt of the foot, to fly towards Capſa, and ſeize the gates: he himſelf inſtantly followed with great ardour and diſpatch, and ſuffered not a man to ſtray after plunder.

When the inhabitants perceived what dangers beſet them, amazement ſeized them: the calamity was unexpected, and their diſmay terrible. To heighten it, many of their fellow-citizens were without the walls, and already in the hands of the enemy. Thus they were forced to capitulate, and to ſurrender themſelves and the city. It was nevertheleſs burned to the ground; all the young men in it put to the ſword; all the reſt ſold to captivity: the plunder was diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers. This ſevere courſe, undoubtedly repugnant to the laws of war, proceeded from no ſpirit of rapine, or of treachery in the conſul

but was only taken becauſe the place was advantageous for Jugurtha, and to us ſcarcely acceſſible; the citizens an unſteady race, void of all faith, hitherto never to be curbed, either by benefits, or by terrors.

From the date of an enterprize ſo daring, yet executed by Marius without loſs or diſaſter to his men, his name, great, indeed, and celebrated, for ſome time paſt, became ſtill greater, ſtill more celebrated. All his proceedings, even ſuch as were not over-cautious, were attributed to his heroic abilities: his men, all mildly uſed, nay, enriched by him, founded his praiſes to the ſkies: the Numidians dreaded him, as a being more than human: in ſhort, all our confederates, and all our enemies, believed that he poſſeſſed the ſpirit of a deity; at leaſt, that the favour of the deities preſaged him ſucceſs in all things.

Now the conſul, after the happy iſſue of his late expedition, advanced againſt other towns. In taking ſome few of them he found reſiſtance from the inhabitants: in many more he found the effect of the tragical execution at Capſa, no inhabitants at all; and all the towns thus deſerted he committed to the flames. Thus wailing and ſlaughter filled all quarters. At laſt, when he had conquered many places, moſt of them without loſs of blood, he attempted another adventure, which, though not attended with ſuch complicated hazards as that at Capſa, yet portended not inferior difficulties.

Nor far from the river Molucha, which is the common boundary between the kingdoms of Ju-

ga and Bocchus, in the midſt of a vaſt plain, ſtands a fort, of a moderate ſize, upon the large level of a rock infinitely high; on every ſide formed by nature as deſperately ſteep as human art and labour could have made it, except one path extremely narrow.

To take this place, Marius exerted all his application and might, becauſe the king's treaſure was kept in it. But, in this enterpriſe, chance proved more prevalent than counſel; for the caſtle was abundantly ſupplied with men, arms, proviſions, and even water from a ſpring: beſides, the ſituation was ſuch as to defy the uſe of mounds and turrets, and all the machinery of a ſiege: the avenue to it was remarkably ſtreight; and, on each ſide, a frightful precipice: the moving galleries were dragged againſt it with infinite hazard, always without ſucceſs: for when they approached ever ſo little, they were inſtantly conſumed by fire, or cruſhed with heavy ſtones. The ſoldiers could neither ſtand, ſteadily, to advance their works, ſuch was the hardneſs and ſteepneſs of the rock; nor aſſiſt at the batteries, ſuch was the execution from above. The braveſt men were certainly ſlain, at leaſt wounded; and thence the fears of all the reſt redoubled.

Now Marius, who had thus waſted many days, and much toil, was, in great anguiſh, debating with himſelf, whether to relinquiſh his enterprize, as it proved utterly unproſperous, or to await the interpoſition of fortune, which he had often tried with ſucceſs. Whilſt he was yet under this ferment of ſpirit, which for ſeveral nights and days

had ſorely diſtracted him, a certain Ligurian, a common ſoldier belonging to the auxiliary cohorts, happening to go out of the camp in ſearch of water, perceived ſhell-ſnails crawling amongſt the rocks, on the ſide of the fortreſs, oppoſite to that where the aſſault was made. As he gathered one, then another, continuing in purſuit of more, he had inſenſibly reached almoſt to the ſummit of the mountain. There, when he ſaw that quarter quite ſolitary and neglected, from a propenſity inherent in men, of viſiting objects unknown, he was prompted to proceed. Luckily in that very place, there grew out of the precipice a great oak, which, bending downwards at a little diſtance from the rock, then riſing again, towered ſtrait upwards, as all trees naturally do.

The Ligurian, ſtill mounting, now upon the branches of the oak, then upon the prominent rocks, at laſt found himſelf high enough to ſurvey, at leiſure, the poſition and frame of the caſtle: for, all the Numidians were earneſtly engaged on that ſide where the attack was made.

When he had well proved and examined whatever he judged would be, anon, conducing to the execution of his purpoſe, he returned the ſame way; yet not at random, as he mounted; but conſtantly pauſing, and examining carefully every ſtep and difficulty on every ſide. He then haſtened to Marius, and, acquainting him with what he had performed and diſcovered, urged him to attempt the fort, on that quarter where he himſelf had aſcended: he even offered to be at once the guide, and the foremoſt to face the danger. Marius diſpatched away, along with the Ligurian,

ſuch as he had then about him, to examine the grounds of his propoſal. Theſe made very different reports; ſome, that the undertaking was difficult; others, that it was eaſy; each agreeable to his particular judgment. The ſpirit of the conſul was however revived; ſo that he prepared a guard of four centurions with their companies, to which he joined five trumpets, the nimbleſt that could be found in the army; and commanding the whole to ſubmit to the directions of the Ligurian, he aſſigned the day following for the undertaking.

Now when all things neceſſary were provided and contrived, he advanced to the place at the time ordained. Add that the centurions, forewarned by their guide, had changed their dreſs and armour, marching with their head and feet both bare, in order to enjoy a free view, and to mount the eaſier over the rocks. They carried their ſwords over their ſhoulders, as alſo their bucklers, which were of the Numidian ſort, framed of leather; becauſe they were lighter, and, when ſtruck, not ſharply reſounding. The Ligurian, always marching foremoſt, girt cords round the projecting cliffs, and ſuch old roots of trees as appeared above the ſurface, thence to aid his fellows in climbing. From time to time, with the help of his hand, he raiſed thoſe who were daunted at a march ſo ſingular and ſhocking. Wherever the aſcent proved yet more violent, he eaſed them of their arms, ſaw them mount before him, then followed, bearing their arms himſelf. Where the terrible declivities ſeemed threatening, even to their beſt efforts, he tried, and demonſtrated, with in-

ſinite patience and care, how paſſable they were; and by aſcending, then deſcending, over and over, inſpired the reſt with courage, and then ſtrait retired to make way for them.

Thus, after much tedious and painful labour, they gained the caſtle, which was quite unguarded on that ſide; for the enemy were then, as on the days preceding they had been, engaged in the oppoſite quarter. Marius, as ſoon as he was advertiſed of the ſucceſs of the Ligurian, though he had already, by continuing the attack all day long, thoroughly employed and amuſed the Numidians, yet now particularly heartened the ſoldiers with freſh exhortations. He even ruſhed out of his galleries, formed his men into the faſhion of a ſhell, and made them thus advance againſt the fort: nay, at the ſame time, effectually to diſmay the enemy, all his engines, all his archers and ſlingers, poured, from a proper diſtance, continual vollies. The Numidians, who had ſo often cruſhed to pieces, nay, burnt to aſhes, the Roman galleries, were grown ſo ſecure as not to keep, for protection, within the bulwarks of the caſtle; but paſſed whole days and nights without their walls. There they boldly reviled the Romans, charged Marius with phrenſy, threatened our troops with bondage to Jugurtha; and indeed, from being ſucceſsful, were become extremely inſulting.

Now, whilſt the conflict was maintained on both ſides with furious efforts; here in a ſtruggle for glory and empire, there for life and liberty; on a ſudden, the trumpets from behind ſounded

an onſet. Then it was, that the women and children, who had come out to behold the engagement, betook themſelves firſt to flight, as did next ſuch as were neareſt the walls, and at laſt the whole body, the armed as well as the unarmed. As ſoon as this appeared, the Romans exerted freſh ardour, urging and overthrowing the enemy, often only wounding, without ſtaying to kill; then, mounting over the heaps of ſlain, and all vying one with another in queſt of glory, they flew to gain the bulwarks, with ſuch earneſtneſs, that not a ſoul ſtopped for plunder. Thus accidental ſucceſs juſtified a wild attempt of Marius, who gained great praiſe from a raſh action.

During the progreſs of this undertaking, Lucius Sylla arrived in the camp with a great body of horſe, raiſed in Latium, and amongſt our allies; for which purpoſe he had been left at Rome by Marius. Since, therefore, this incident concerning ſo extraordinary a man invited me, it ſeemed pertinent to ſubjoin a ſhort view of his genius and qualifications. For I ſhall nowhere elſe enter into the hiſtory of Sylla: beſides that Lucius Siſenna, though the beſt and moſt accurate of his hiſtorians, ſeems to me to have recounted it with very defective freedom.

Sylla ſprang from a patrician race of eminent luſtre; but the family was ſunk in obſcurity, through the degeneracy of his late anceſtors. He was equally and excellently accompliſhed in all the learning of Greece and Rome; of a daring ſpirit, paſſionate for pleaſures, more paſſionate for glory;

voluptuous during receſs from affairs, but never ſuffering his affairs to be retarded by his gayeties, except in the inſtance of his divorce, in which he ought to have ſtudied more decency. He was very eloquent, very able; very complaiſant in his friendſhips; of profound reach in diſguiſing his purſuits; profuſe of every bounty, of money above all. He was indeed happy beyond all men, before he became maſter in our civil diſſenſions; his fortune, however great, never ſurpaſſing his ability: ſo that many have doubted, whether he were more fortunate or brave. In what ſtrains his conſequent proceedings are to be recounted, whether with great ſhame, or with greater horror, I am unable to ſay.

When Sylla was arrived in Africa, and had, with his cavalry, joined Marius in his camp, as I have recounted, he, who was hitherto raw and unpractiſed in war, improved ſo, as in a ſhort time to become a moſt accompliſhed warrior. Add his engaging affability to the men; his great liberality to all that aſked, with his voluntary bounties to others; his ſhyneſs to receive favours, his great eagerneſs to repay them, greater than if they had been a debt in money; his refuſal of any return for benefits conferred; as indeed what he moſt aimed at was, by gifts and good offices to engage all men; his condeſcenſion in diſcourſing with the common men, either ludicrouſly or gravely; his aſſiduity in accompanying them on all occaſions, in their marches, in their works, and in their guard; his forbearance, at the ſame time, to court

the croud by the uſual baſe method of wounding the character of the conſul, or of any other deſerving man. His great aim was to ſuffer none to ſurpaſs him in conduct, or in bravery; and in both theſe he ſurpaſſed almoſt all others. By this addreſs, and theſe abilities, he became, in a ſhort time, highly endeared to Marius and the whole army.

Now Jugurtha, ſeeing himſelf diveſted of Capſa, and other places, of great ſtrength in themſelves, and of great importance to him, as alſo of vaſt treaſure, ſends ambaſſadors to Bocchus, to preſs his coming with his forces into Numidia; for that this was a proper juncture for engaging the Romans. Upon information that Bocchus pauſed, wavering between the motives for war and thoſe of peace; he again, with great gifts, purchaſed his moſt powerful confidents: nay, to tempt the Moor himſelf, he promiſed him a third of Numidia, on condition, that either the Romans were driven out of Africa, or, by a treaty with them, he recovered his whole dominions. Bocchus, allured by ſuch an acceſſion of territory, advanced ſtrait to Jugurtha. So that immediately upon this conjunction of their armies, they aſſailed Marius, then marching into quarters for the winter, near the cloſe of the evening: for, they preſumed, that, were they defeated, the approaching night would ſecure them, and prove no detriment, if they conquered; ſince they perfectly knew the country; when, let the reſult be what it would, the darkneſs muſt, on the contrary, diſtreſs the Romans.

Whilſt, by manifold advices, the conſul was advertiſed of the approach of the enemy, the enemy were in full view: nay, before the army could be formed, or the baggage piled together, even before the ſignal could be given, or any proper orders diſtributed, the Mooriſh and Getulian cavalry ruſhed upon them; not in battle-array, nor obſerving any rules of engaging, but in ſeveral crowds, juſt as chance had huddled them together. Our men, though moſt of them were ſtartled with an aſſault ſo unforeſeen, yet, recalling their former bravery, boldly wielded their arms, all ready to encounter the foe, or to protect againſt the foe ſuch as were not yet armed. Many mounted on horſeback, and advanced to meet the enemy. The whole action was conducted more like a fray of robbers than a battle; horſe and foot jumbled together at random, without ſtandards, without ranks: many were bereft of life, many of their limbs: numbers, keenly attacking in front, periſhed by being themſelves attacked in rear. Neither bravery nor arms proved an equal defence; for the enemy infinitely exceeded in numbers, and thence every-where encompaſſed us. At length, the Romans, where-ever they met together in parties, as accident of place happened to mingle them, both the veterans and the late recruits, (theſe, too, having learnt war by practice, and the example of the former) formed themſelves into globular bodies, Thus, guarded by a front every way, they withſtood all the fury of the enemy.

Marius, during all this ſevere conflict, continued void of diſmay; nor was his ſpirit leſs elate and vigorous than before. Accompanied by his own troop, which he had filled with men choſen rather for their valour than for any perſonal friendſhip, he ſcoured through all quarters; here ſuccouring his own men hardly preſſed, there attacking the thickeſt and buſieſt of the enemy in perſon. Thus he aſſiſted his ſoldiers with his ſword; ſince, in a combuſtion ſo univerſal, he found it impoſſible to direct like a general. Already the day was cloſed; yet the barbarians ſlackened nothing in their efforts: they even puſhed with redoubled ardour, in purſuit of orders from the two kings, who conceived the darkneſs to be only advantageous to themſelves.

Marius therefore, as the beſt meaſure under ſo many difficulties, choſing to provide a place of refuge for his men, ordered poſſeſſion to be taken of two hills contiguous to each other: in one, though not affording ſpace ſufficient for an encampment, there flowed a ſpring plentiful of water: the other ſeaſonably ſerved for a camp; for, as it was, for the greateſt part, exceeding high and ſteep, it required but ſmall labour to fortify it. He directed Sylla, with the cavalry, to paſs the night by the ſpring: he himſelf, having by degrees re-aſſembled his ſcattered forces, whilſt the enemy ſtill remained in no leſs diſorder, led them all ſtrait to the other hill.

Thus the two kings, conſtrained by the difficulty of the aſcent, forbore any further attack, yet ſuffered not their forces to retire, but, beſetting

both hills, pitched all round them with their ill concerted multitude. Then, kindling many fires, they paſſed moſt of the night in riot uſual to barbarians, rejoicing, bounding to and fro, and uttering terrible ſhouts. The two princes alſo, their commanders, exulted highly, and behaved like conquerors, becauſe they had not been forced to fly.

All this wild deportment was eaſily perceived by the Romans, from their higher ſituation in the dark; and greatly raiſed their ſpirit. As Marius, particularly, had gathered high aſſurance from the weak conduct of the enemy, he ordered a profound ſilence to be kept; nor would he even ſuffer, what was always uſed, the change of the guard to be ſounded. At laſt, as ſoon as day appeared, when the enemy, now utterly fatigued, were juſt fallen faſt aſleep, he directed all the trumpets, both of horſe and foot, in the whole army, to ſound at once to battle; all the men, at the ſame time, to give a mighty ſhout, and ſally down furiouſly upon the foe.

The Moors and the Getulians, ſuddenly rouſed by a noiſe ſo ſtrange to their ears, and ſo frightful, were bereft of all ability, either to fly, or to handle their arms, to contrive, or to act: ſo that, ſtruck with uproar and terrible ſhouts, deſtitute of all aid from their commanders, fiercely gored by our forces, they ſunk like men benumbed, under all this alarming tumult, aſtoniſhment and dread. In a word, they were utterly cut of and routed, moſt of their arms and enſigns of war

taken, and more men ſlain in this engagement, than in all the foregoing; for ſleep and extraordinary diſmay had obſtructed their flight.

Marius now proceeded, as he had begun, in his march towards winter quarters in the maritime towns; as in theſe he had determined to fix them for the conveniency of proviſions; himſelf ſtill unchanged by his victory, and become neither negligent nor imperious; but, with the ſame circumſpection, as if the enemy had been in view, marching his army in the form of a ſquare. Sylla commanded the cavalry on the right, Aulus Manlius on the left, at the head of the ſlingers and archers, together with the Ligurian cohorts. In the front and rear he had placed the tribunes over the infantry, lightly armed. The deſerters, as men of ſmall account, yet perfectly ſkilled in the ſituation of theſe regions, were employed abroad, to diſcover which way the enemy bent their courſe. Beſides, he ſo diligently contrived and attended to every incident, as if he had committed no truſt to any other perſon whatſoever. He was inceſſantly moving and viſiting every individual, extolling theſe, chiding thoſe, as they ſeverally deſerved. As he kept himſelf continually armed, and prepared for action, he obliged his ſoldiers but to perform what he himſelf practiſed.

Neither was his circumſpection ſmaller in fortifying his camp, than in conducting his march. The guard of the gates he committed to the cohorts of the legions: that without the gates to the cavalry of our confederates. He likewiſe poſted other intermediate guards upon the lines and bulwarks:

beſides, he was conſtantly viſiting them all round, from no diffidence, that his orders would be neglected, but that the men might find all their fatigue lightened, when they ſaw their general bore as much as they. In truth it muſt be owned, that not only now, but during all the reſt of the war againſt Jugurtha, he held his army under due reſtraints, rather by the ſhame of offending than by the fear of puniſhment: a conduct which many attributed to his view of popularity: ſome derived it from habit; becauſe, having been hardened in a courſe of fatigues from his childhood, theſe, and what elſe others hold for inſtances of miſery, paſſed with him for pleaſures. Upon the whole, by ſuch deportment the buſineſs of the ſtate was conducted with as much ſucceſs and dignity, as had his command been ever ſo ſtern and unmerciful.

Thus they continued their march, when at length, on the fourth day, not far from the city of Cirta, they perceived the ſcouts approaching on all ſides with violent ſpeed; whence it was inferred, that the enemy were near: but, as they returned from quarters quite different, yet all agreed in the ſame account, the conſul, for a while, at a loſs how to marſhal his army, reſolved to alter nothing: and, thus fixed againſt all events, awaited the enemy in the ſame order, and upon the ſame ſpot. Thus he baffled the views of Jugurtha; who had diſtributed his forces into four bands, from a perſuaſion, that, to one or other of theſe, the Romans would certainly be expoſed to be ſucceſsfully attacked in the rear. Sylla, the while,

upon whom the enemy firſt fell, having, by a ſpeech, heartened his men, putting himſelf at the head of ſome troops ranked extremely compact, boldly aſſailed the Moors: the reſt of the cavalry, without moving from their poſts, defended themſelves from the ſhafts thrown at a diſtance, and certainly ſlew whoever ventured hand to hand.

Whilſt the horſe thus fought, Bocchus aſſailed the rear-band of the Romans, with a body of foot lately brought him by Volux his ſon; ſuch as, having lingered in their march, were not in the former engagement. Marius was juſt then in the front of the battle, becauſe there Jugurtha was making an onſet with his moſt numerous body: but that prince, having learned the arrival of Bocchus, in an inſtant wheeled ſilently about, attended only by a few men, to our infantry; where, addreſſing himſelf to them in Latin, which he had learned at the ſiege of Numantia, he cried with a loud voice, that 'Their fighting was no longer to 'any purpoſe; for he was juſt come from killing 'Marius with his own hand.' He at the ſame time waved his ſword, all dyed with the blood of one of our foot, whom he had ſlain, during the encounter, with great bravery. When our ſoldiers heard this, a report ſo tragical ſhocked them more than ſuited with their ſmall credit in the veracity of the reporter, The barbarians, too, breathed freſh ardour; and, more furiouſly than ever, urged the Romans, already damped and diſconcerted, and juſt betaking themſelves to flight, when Sylla, who had utterly overthrown all be-

fore him, in his return from the rout, aſſaulted the Moors on the flank. Bocchus inſtantly fled.

Jugurtha ſtill continued ſtrenuouſly to ſuſtain his troops, as he was ſolicitous to preſerve a victory well-nigh gained, till he ſaw himſelf incloſed, both on the right and left, by our troops: then, leaving all about him ſlain, he burſt ſingle through the enemy's horſe, and eſcaped amidſt a ſhower of darts. At this very time, too, Marius, who had finally routed the Numidian cavalry, was flown to ſuccour his own; for he was told, that they had recoiled. And now the foe was, on all hands, intirely defeated.

Then it was, that, all over theſe extended plains, might be ſeen a ſpectacle very ſhocking and horrible; here men flying, there purſuing; many killed, many taken; horſes and men together proſtrate and periſhing; great numbers ſorely wounded; and thence unable to fly, but ſtill alive; and thence impatient of being left; ſome ſtriving to riſe, and forthwith falling again, languiſhing and forlorn In a word, the whole ſoil was covered, as far as the eye could diſcern, with darts, and ſwords, and carcaſſes; and, in all the intermediate ſpaces, with blood and gore.

Marius, now a conqueror undiſputed, proceeded to the town of Cirta; whither, from the firſt, he meant to bend his march: here, five days after the laſt rout of the barbarians, ambaſſadors from Bocchus applied to him; with a requeſt, in his name to the conſul, to ſend any two of his friends, ſuch as he entirely confided in, to the king; who wanted to confer with him upon points not only

touching his own intereſt, but alſo that of the Roman people. Immediately the conſul deputed Lucius Sylla, and Aulus Manlius: theſe two, notwithſtanding it was at his own deſire they went, yet judged it adviſable to accoſt him with a ſpeech, to reconcile his ſpirit to peace, if he appeared to diſreliſh it; or, if to deſire it, then to rouze him with the more ardour to conclude it. Sylla, therefore, to whom Manlius gave precedence, on the ſcore of his eloquence, not of his ſeniority, addreſſed himſelf to Bocchus in the following ſtrain:

'King Bocchus, it is a ſenſible pleaſure to us, 'to find, that the gods have diſpoſed ſuch a princely perſon as thee to chuſe peace rather than war; 'and no longer to contaminate thy own ſhining 'character, by involving it with that of Jugurtha, 'a man of all others the moſt deteſtable. By this 'good diſpoſition thou doſt alſo releaſe us from 'the painful neceſſity of purſuing you both with 'the ſword: him, for his infinite guilt and crimes; 'thee, for thy miſtake in aſſiſting him. Let me 'obſerve, that the Roman people, even in the infancy of their power, whilſt they were yet abundantly ſtraitened, always judged it better policy to procure friends, than ſubjects; always eſteemed it ſafer to rule people by their own conſent, than by compulſion. To thyſelf, particularly, no alliance whatſoever can be more 'commodious than ours: one reaſon is, that we 'are ſo remote, as to miniſter no apprehenſion of 'injury whatſoever; yet always prepared to furniſh equal proofs of friendſhip, as if we lived 'contiguous. As another motive, we have ſo ma-

'ny nations obedient to our ſway, that we wiſh 'not for more. As to the number of mutual 'allies, neither we, nor any other ſtate, can ever 'boaſt enough.

'In truth, I wiſh that thou hadſt at firſt cho-'ſen to purſue the preſent courſe; for then, aſ-'ſuredly, thou wouldſt, long ere now, have re-'ceived many ſignal benefits from the Roman peo-'ple; even many more than the calamities thou 'haſt ſince ſuffered from their arms. But, ſince 'fortune, which, indeed, moſtly controuls the 'tranſactions of men, has ſo determined, that 'thou ſhouldſt as well prove the force of our en-'mity, as of our friendſhip; be quick to ſnatch 'the occaſion which now preſents, and to accom-'pliſh what thou haſt ſo well begun. Thou haſt 'in thy hands many expedients, many opportu-'nities; ſuch as will enable thee to retrive all 'thy wrong meaſures by a ſeaſonable and oblig-'ing conduct. For a concluſion, let one reflecti-'on never eſcape thy thoughts; that in an inter-'courſe of generoſity, the Roman people are ne-'ver to be vanquiſhed. Of their power in war, 'thou thyſelf haſt made trial.'

To all this Bocchus replied with great complacency, and very courteous words: he offered withal a brief apology for having offended the Romans, 'That he had recourſe to arms for no ſpirit of 'enmity, but purely to defend his own domini-'ons. He could not bear to let Marius ravage 'that part of Numidia, which, by the right of 'war, belonged to himſelf; as what he had, with 'his ſword, conquered from Jugurtha: nay, he

'had previouſly requeſted to be admitted to an alliance with Rome, by ambaſſadors properly ſent; and was rejected. He was willing, however, to paſs over old diſcontents; and, with the conſent of Marius, forthwith to renew his ſuit to the ſenate by a freſh embaſſy.' Preſently, when his offer was accepted, the fickle ſpirit of the royal barbarian was again changed by his confidents, all corrupted by great preſents from Jugurtha; who, having learned the deputation of Sylla and Manlius to Bocchus, became filled with apprehenſions of what was really projected againſt him.

Marius, during this, having fixed his army in winter quarters, ſet out with a detachment of cohorts lightly armed, and part of the cavalry, into the deſarts; there to beſiege a royal tower, where Jugurtha had placed for a garriſon all the Roman deſerters. And now again Bocchus, by a fortunate impulſe, reſumed his former ſentiments. Whatever was the cauſe, retroſpection to his laſt defeats in two battles, or the perſuaſion of ſome other confidents, ſuch as Jugurtha had not debauched, he ſingled out from amongſt his train of courtiers five ambaſſadors; men not only of tried integrity, but of the moſt ſignal abilities: theſe he diſpatched on a commiſſion to Marius, and afterwards, if Marius approved it, to Rome; with abſolute authority to treat at large, and to terminate the war upon any conditions.

The ambaſſadors, as they travelled with great diſpatch to the winter quarters of the Romans, were beſet on the road, and utterly plundered by

Getulian robbers: ſo that, greatly affrighted, and deſtitute of all their equipage, they arrived at the quarters of Sylla, with whom the conſul, when he began his expedition, had left the command of the army, under the title of propraetor. Their reception from him was not what ſuch faithleſs enemies deſerved, but full of reſpect and liberality.

This obliging uſage ſo charmed the barbarians, that they not only held for mere forgeries, whatever they have heard of the avarice of the Romans; but took Sylla, from his many acts of munificence towards them, to be their ſpecial friend. For there were many, even in thoſe days, utterly ignorant that bounties ever flowed from ſelfiſh views. With ſuch, no man paſſed for liberal, who was not reckoned equally benevolent; and all preſents were thought to flow only from benignity of heart. To him, therefore, they explained their orders from Bocchus; nay, aſked him to aſſiſt them with his good offices and counſel. They likewiſe diſcourſed, in high ſtrains, of the opulence, the honour, the power of their king; and urged every other argument, which they judged either intereſting or conciliating. When Sylla had aſſented to all their demands, and taught them how to reaſon with Marius, how afterwards with the ſenate, they ſtill continued there forty days in expectation of Marius.

The conſul, having failed in the purpoſe of his expedition, when he returned to Cirta, and was appriſed of the arrival of the ambaſſadors, ſent them orders to attend him, and with them Sylla.

He ſummoned too Lucius Bellienus the praetor, from Utica; as likewiſe, all who bore the rank of ſenators, wherever to be found. In concert with them, he examined the inſtructions from Bocchus to his ambaſſadors, whence they were furniſhed with powers to go to Rome, and with orders to apply to the conſul for a ſuſpenſion of arms, during the interval. Theſe overtures were approved by Sylla, and, indeed, by moſt of the council. Some few there were, who propoſed meaſures much more violent; men, in truth, little acquainted with the courſe of human things, which are ſtill fluctuating, never fixed, always changing for the worſe.

Now the Moors, having obtained their whole ſuit, three of them proceeded to Rome, in the train of Caius Octavius Rufo, the quaeſtor, who had brought money for the army: two returned back to the king, who from them learnt, with great pleaſure, the whole detail of their tranſactions, but, above all, the ſignal benevolence, and partial regard, ſhewn by Sylla. His ambaſſadors at Rome implored pardon of the ſenate, for the miſconduct of the king; alleged, that he had been ſeduced by the perfidious wiles of Jugurtha; then proceeded to ſue for admiſſion into mutual friendſhip and alliance. To all which, they received this anſwer.

'It is the conſtant principle of the ſenate and 'people of Rome, to be forgetful neither of fa-'vours nor of injuries. They, however, forgive 'the tranſgreſſions of Bocchus, becauſe he de-'clares his remorſe. Mutual alliance and friend-

'ſhip will be granted him, when he has deſerved 'them.'

When Bocchus was acquainted with what had paſſed, he intreated Marius, by a letter, to ſend him Sylla, that, by his counſel, the pretenſions on both ſides might be ſettled. Sylla was preſently ſent, with a guard of horſe and foot, and ſlingers from the iſlands Baleares; beſides a certain number of archers, and a cohort from Pelignum, lightly armed for the ſake of diſpatch; yet, by ſuch light arms, they were as effectually ſecured, as by any other, againſt the enemies darts; becauſe theſe are made very ſlight. When they had marched four days, without any ſurprize, on the fifth, Volux, the ſon of Bocchus, preſented himſelf, all on a ſudden, in the open plains, at the head of a thouſand horſe, who, as they moved haſtily and without order, raiſed in Sylla, and all his men, at once an apprehenſion of a much greater number, and of their hoſtile purpoſes. They therefore prepared themſelves all to a man, adjuſted their arms, and reſolutely expected the combat; ſenſible indeed of ſome danger, but armed with ſuperior hopes, as men already victorious, engaging with ſuch as they had often vanquiſhed. In the mean time, the horſemen, ſent out for information, reported, as they had found, all to be pacific.

Volux, as ſoon as he arrived, accoſted Sylla, declaring, that he was ſent by his father to receive and to guard him. They then joined and marched together that day and the day following, with-

out any alarm. But in the evening, when they had already encamped, the Mooriſh prince ran to Sylla, and, with a face of conſternation, told him trembling, what, he ſaid, he had learnt from his ſcouts, 'That Jugurtha was at a ſmall diſtance 'from the camp:' he withal aſked, and even urged, the quaeſtor 'To fly away privately with 'him in the dark.' Sylla, with great diſdain, profeſſed 'Himſelf incapable of fearing a Numi-'dian ſo often routed: he had abundant confi-'dence in the bravery of his men: nay though 'certain deſtruction were at hand, he would 'ſtand firm, rather than, by an infamous flight, 'betray ſuch as he was truſted to lead, only to 'ſave a life at beſt ſubject to many uncertainties, 'and liable, perhaps, very ſoon after, to be ſnatch-'ed away by a diſeaſe.'

Yet when the prince moved him to decamp, and march during the night, he approved the propoſal, and forthwith gave orders, that, when they had ſupped, they ſhould kindle a great number of fires in the camp, and then iſſue forth in profound ſilence at the firſt watch of the night. When they had marched the whole night, all thoroughly tired, as Sylla, at ſun-riſing, was making lines for a camp, the Mooriſh horſemen informed him, that Jugurtha had gained ground of us, and was encamped about two miles further. When this was divulged, it failed not to fill our men with terrible diſmay, as they believed themſelves betrayed by Volux, and caught in an ambuſh. Some even averred, that 'He ſhould be doomed to capital

'vengeance; ſince ſo foul a traitor could not in 'juſtice eſcape unpuniſhed.'

Sylla, indeed, entertained the ſame jealouſy; yet reſtrained them from offering him any violence. He exhorted them 'To be of good courage: a 'few brave troops had frequently fought with 'ſucceſs againſt a numerous hoſt: the leſs care 'they ſhould take of their ſecurity in the time of 'battle, the more ſecure they would be. It ill 'ſuited any man, who had his hands furniſhed 'with arms, to ſeek aid from his heels, which 'were always unarmed; and to turn his back, 'which was blind and defenceleſs, towards the e-'nemy, when urging peril called moſt for wea-'pons and eyes.' Then ſolemnly appealing to the almighty Jove, 'To witneſs the guilt and trai-'terous dealings of Bocchus,' he commanded Volux to depart the camp, as one engaged in hoſtile deſigns.

The prince beſought him with tears, 'To en-'tertain no ſuch diſtruſt. In his own conduct 'there was no ſort of guile, but rather much ſub-'tlety in that of Jugurtha, who, in continual 'purſuit of intelligence, had learnt his rout. But 'ſtill, as he was by no means mighty in numbers, 'and for his whole hopes and ſupport depended 'upon Bocchus, it was his opinion, that he would 'not venture any glaring attempt, where the 'ſon of Bocchus was to behold it. Whence he 'judged it the beſt courſe, to paſs confidently 'through the heart of his camp. For himſelf, he 'was ready to accompany Sylla, ſingle and ſepa-

'rate from his Moors, whom he would order either to move on before, or to remain where 'they were.' In a ſituation ſo diſtreſſing, this counſel prevailed. They therefore inſtantly ad- 'vanced, and paſſed by Jugurtha, unmoleſted; for as they came up altogether unexpected, the ſurprize kept him wavering and irreſolute. In a few days after, they reached the place aſſigned.

There, a certain Numidian, named Aſpar, frequented the court of Bocchus, with whom he enjoyed great confidence and freedom, as a miniſter whom Jugurtha, upon advice that Sylla was invited to a conference with the king, had firſt diſpatched thither, to ſupport his intereſt, and to dive, with all poſſible addreſs, into all the views and meaſures of Bocchus. That king, at the ſame time, had for a favourite, Dabar, the ſon of Maſſugrada, and deſcended from Maſiniſſa, but by his grandmother not of equal quality, for his father was born of a concubine. The Mooriſh king, who held him in exceeding dearneſs and truſt, for his many and pleaſing talents, having moreover found him, upon many former occaſions, well-affected to the Romans, ſent him ſtrait to declare to Sylla in his name, 'That he was diſpoſed to 'comply with whatever the people of Rome re- 'quired. He left it to Sylla to appoint the day, 'the place, and even the hour of conference: he 'had entirely reſerved all difficulties and pretenſi- 'ons to be decided ſolely by himſelf and Sylla. 'Nay, an ambaſſador there from Jugurtha ought 'to miniſter no diſtruſt; ſince he was admitted 'purely to facilitate the general treaty, as the on-

'ly means to defeat the inſidious devices of that 'prince.'

Yet I am well informed, that Bocchus acted a double part, more like a faithleſs African, than agreeably to his fair profeſſions, thus deceitfully amuſing both the Romans, and the king of Numidia, with hopes of peace; and that he had frequent ſtruggles within himſelf, whether he ſhould deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sylla to Jugurtha. His inclinations led him to be againſt us: his fears inclined him to be for us.

Sylla anſwered, 'That he ſhould ſay very little 'before Aſpar. Whatever he had elſe to offer, 'he ſhould communicate in ſecret to the king a-'lone, at leaſt admit very few to be preſent.' He withal explained to Dabar, what anſwers he expected from Bocchus, in the preſence of others. The interview followed, at which Sylla declared, 'That he came commiſſioned by the conſul, to 'demand of him, whether he meditated peace 'or war?' The king, as he was pre-inſtructed, directed Sylla to meet him again ten days thence; he had yet come to no reſult, but would then return him a full anſwer. So that they retired ſeverally, each to his own camp. But, when the night was far advanced, Bocchus ſent ſecretly for Sylla: none were ſuffered to be preſent beſides truſty interpreters; only Dabar, as a man of perfect honour, and employed as an equal mediator, was ſworn, by conſent, to make faithful repreſentations to both, Then the king immediately ſpoke thus:

'I never conceived it poſſible to ſee myſelf un-

'der obligations to a private ſubject, I who am
'the mightieſt prince in this part of the world,
'and the moſt opulent of all the princes whom
'I know. And true it is, that, before I knew
'thee, Sylla, though I was wont to extend my
'protection and aid to great numbers, at their
'own requeſt, to many of my own option, I myſelf
'needed the favour of no man. Such abſolute
'independency is now leſſened; a change, for
'which others mourn, and I rejoice. It will al-
'ways avail me, always be my boaſt, once to
'have had occaſion for thy friendſhip, ſince no-
'thing is dearer than that to my ſoul. For proof
'of what I ſay, accept of my troops, my arms,
'my treaſure, and, indeed, whatever elſe thy
'ſoul deſires; uſe them all as thy own: nay,
'even then, ſtill reckon, that, as long as thou
'liveſt, I ſhall never have ſufficiently requited thy
'favour: my gratitude will be ſtill freſh and un-
'diſcharged; nor, ſo long as I can know the
'object of thy purſuits, ſhalt thou ever purſue in
'vain. For it is my principle, that leſs diſgrace
'accrues to a monarch, from being vanquiſhed in
'arms, than in generoſity.

'Now hear what I have ſhortly to allege con-
'cerning your commonwealth, for which thou
'comeſt hither as a miniſter. Againſt the people
'of Rome I never made war, and always intend-
'ed never to make any. What I did was by
'arms to defend my own confines againſt invaſi-
'on and arms: an undertaking which I now drop,
'ſince ſuch is your pleaſure. Proſecute the war
'againſt Jugurtha juſt as to you ſeems meet.

'Beyond the river Molucha, the ſettled boundary between me and Micipſa, I ſhall not pretend to paſs, nor will I permit Jugurtha to croſs over to my ſide. As a further condeſcenſion, if you have aught elſe to aſk, worthy of Bocchus and the Roman ſtate, you ſhall not return with a denial.'

Sylla was very brief, and very modeſt, in his anſwer, to all that concerned himſelf: upon the public buſineſs of peace and negotiation, he reaſoned copiouſly; and particularly aſſured the king, 'That what he propoſed, would be accounted, by the ſenate and people of Rome, no gratification to them, ſince they were maſters in the field. It was incumbent upon him, to perform ſomething which ſhould appear more conducing to their advantage than to his own; a taſk feaſible, as he had Jugurtha at his mercy. If he delivered up to the Romans this their enemy, he would then hold them indebted for a mighty ſervice; and in return, without aſking, be gratified with their amity, their alliance, and the free grant of whatever part he claimed of Numidia.'

At firſt, the king perſiſted in refuſing the condition. He pleaded 'The ties of blood, thoſe of intermarriage, thoſe of mutual leagues.' He urged 'His fears too of alienating the hearts of his people, ſhould he be ſeen forfeiting his faith; ſince Jugurtha was as much their darling, as the Romans were their averſion.' In the end, when long and inceſſantly preſſed, he relaxed, and promiſed 'To conform in all things to the good

'pleaſure of Sylla.' They next ſettled, by what arts to conduct the mock treaty of peace, for which the king of Numidia ardently longed, as quite diſheartened with his fate in the war. Thus when they had thoroughly framed their intrigue, they parted.

Bocchus, next day, called for Aſpar, the miniſter of Jugurtha; and told him what Dabar had learnt from Sylla, and he from Dabar, that on certain terms the war might be concluded: he ſhould therefore go and diſcover the purpoſes of his king. The miniſter repaired, with much joy to the camp of Jugurtha; where amply furniſhed with inſtructions from him, he returned to Bocchus, having travelled with ſuch ſpeed, that in going and coming he ſpent but eight days. He reported to the Mooriſh king, that 'Jugurtha was forward 'to yield to every thing required of him, but loth 'to truſt to Marius only; ſince there had been 'many pacifications made with Roman generals, 'never ratified at Rome. If Bocchus would ef-'fectually conſult the intereſt of both kings, and 'have the peace ſure and confirmed, he ſhould 'procure a congreſs of all the parties, there to 'treat jointly about a general pacification, and 'then deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. If he had 'but ſuch a great officer in his poſſeſſion, then in-'deed a valid peace would enſue, under the ſanc-'tion of the ſenate and people of Rome: nor 'would they ever ſuffer a perſon of his high cha-'racter to remain in the hands of the enemy, 'through no ill conduct in him, but for diſcharg-'ing his duty to the commonwealth.'

The Mooriſh king, after long diſcuſſion and balancing within himſelf, at laſt declared his aſſent to this propoſition. Whether his heſitation proceeded from perfidy, or from perplexity, is not clear. In truth, the inclinations of princes, as they are generally impetuous, are alſo unſteady, and ſubject to thwart one another. Now, as a time and place were ſettled for a treaty, Bocchus, in the interval, frequently called, now for Sylla, anon for the miniſter of Jugurtha, careſſed each, and made the ſame promiſes to both. Thus they were equally pleaſed, and filled with equal hopes. But the night preceding the day appointed for the treaty, the Mooriſh king, after he had called together his counſellors, and then, his mind ſuddenly changing, ſent them all away again, is reported to have had many and ſtrong conflicts with himſelf; inſomuch that the frequent changes of his viſage, and external agitations, correſponding with the diſtractions of his ſpirit, manifeſted his agonies, though he ſaid nothing. At laſt, he ſent for Sylla, and conformably to his counſel, prepared to deceive and ſeize the Numidian prince.

When the time came, and Bocchus was adverti ſed, that Jugurtha was already near at hand, he, accompanied by Sylla, and a few of his own courtiers, went ſtrait out, under ſhew of reſpect, to meet him as far as a riſing ground, in full view of ſuch as were purpoſely poſted to ſeize him. Thither came the Numidian prince, attended by moſt of his houſhold, but without arms, as it had been agreed; when inſtantly, on a ſignal given, they who lurked for him, iſſued forth, and all at once

encompaſſed him. His train were put to the ſword. He himſelf was bound, and delivered to Sylla, who carried him away to Marius.

About this time, Quintus Caepio, and Marcus Manlius, our generals, had an unfortunate battle with the Gauls: whence all Italy was filled with great diſmay. It had been ever a traditionary opinion amongſt the Romans, and now no leſs ſtrong, that to their own heroic bravery all nations elſe muſt yield; but, in engaging with the Gauls, they were not to aim at glory and conqueſt, but only at the preſervation of the commonweal. When therefore it was known at Rome, that the war in Numidia was terminated, and that Jugurtha was on the way thither in chains, Marius was choſen conſul, even in his abſence, and appointed commander in Gaul. On the firſt of January, he triumphed with exceeding great glory. Indeed, at this juncture, the city of Rome placed in him all their hopes and defence.

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THE END.